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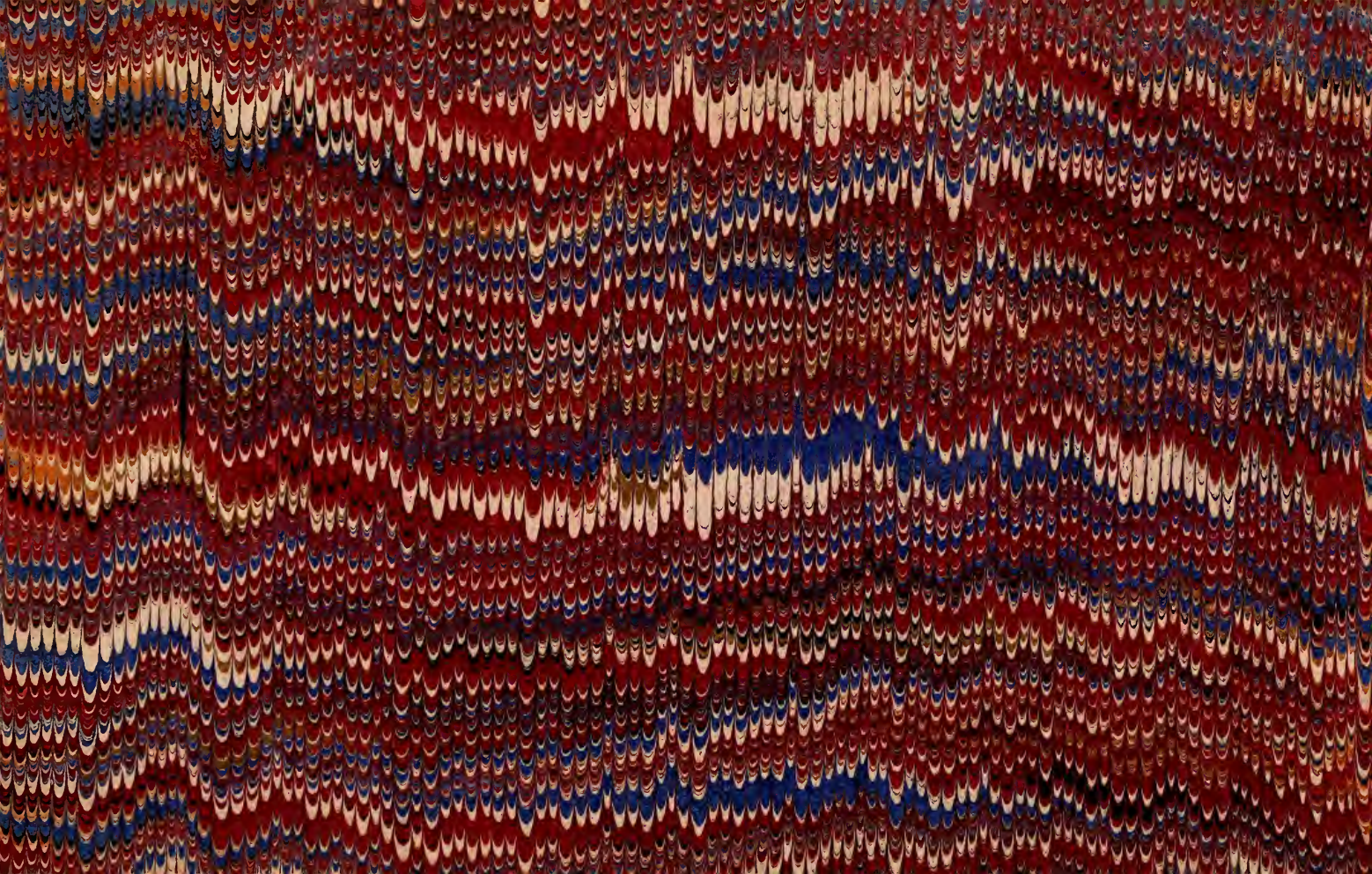

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MR. WEBSTER'S

ADDRESS AT ANDOVER,

NOVEMBER 9, 1843.

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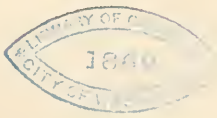
ADDRESS AT ANDOVER,

NOVEMBER 9, 1843.

Webster, Daniel



BOSTON:
PRESS OF T. R. MARVIN, 24 CONGRESS STREET.
1843.

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Boston, Nov. 13, 1843.

My Dear Sir,

At the suggestion of friends, I have looked over the printed reports of my remarks at Andover, for the purpose of publication, in a pamphlet, with some of the papers and extracts which I read, or to which I referred, put into an Appendix.

I doubt, my dear Sir, whether at this season of the year, and under the circumstances, I should have gone to Andover to address a large collection of people, if a disposition to comply with your own personal wishes, so kindly expressed, had not formed a large part of the inducement.

Will you allow me, now, as a manifestation of my esteem and regard, to present the pamphlet, in this public manner to you; and to avail myself of the opportunity for expressing the gratification which I feel, in knowing not only your intelligent and warm regard for the maintenance of the institutions of the country, but, also, that amidst the duties of your Chair, and the labor which you are known to bestow on the deeper studies belonging to your profession, you still find time to acquaint yourself, extensively, with its great and leading interests.

DANIEL WEBSTER.

To Rev. Moses Stuart, Professor, &c. Andover.

Entered according to Act of Congress, in the year 1843, by T. R. Marvin, in the Clerk's Office of the District Court of the District of Massachusetts.

ADDRESS.

It is not without considerable reluctance, fellow-citizens, that I present myself before this meeting, to-day. It had been my purpose to abstain, for the time to come, from all public addresses before such vast assemblages. The invitation, however, came from sources which I so much respect, and appeared to urge my attendance with so much earnestness, that it was not in my yielding nature to withhold my consent. And that consent I cannot regret, when I look around me and before me, and see such a collection from Andover, from all parts of this county, and from the adjacent counties.

Gentlemen, I concur most zealously in the hope—and am ready to perform any duty towards the accomplishment of what we all desire—of the election of George N. Briggs and John Reed to the offices of Governor and Lieutenant Governor of the Commonwealth. I do not propose, on this occasion, any extended discussion of State politics; but I may say, generally, that I wish to see Massachusetts restored to what she has been, and characteristically is. In the proceedings of last year, I have seen much which does not belong to Massachusetts; much that has no flavor, no relish, of the Old Bay State about it. Gentlemen, I entertain not a particle of doubt that the good sense and good feelings of the people, when once aroused—and they are now aroused—will accomplish all that patriotism can desire, to this end. The proof of this I see, not in a noisy and vaporing spirit among the people, but in the deep earnestness and sobriety with which sensible and patriotic men are preparing for the performance of their duty, as electors, at the present crisis.

Gentlemen, the Andover committee have desired me to address this assembly on a number of vastly important topics. It is quite impossible that I should enter far into so broad a field; I shall confine myself, in the remarks I have to make, to some of the subjects by them suggested.

They desire that I should express my sentiments upon the respective duties of the National and State governments; upon the duties of the general government to farmers, merchants and manufacturers; upon the importance, the necessity, of a sacred observance of public faith; upon the currency, and its relations; and the utility and importance of a universal medium of payment.

Now, one part of my embarrassment arises from the fact, that I really have little new to say, on any of these topics. By the favor of the people, I have been a good deal in public life, and upon these subjects my opinions are well known. They are unchanged. And I avail myself of this occasion, not so much to announce any new doctrines held by me, as to refer to sentiments long entertained, and often expressed.

The general government, all agree, is vested with certain powers, and held to certain duties. It is its duty to defend the country from foreign invasion; to provide armies and equip navies; the treaty-making power is confided to it; the superintendence of the foreign relations, and the maintenance of the country's honor in foreign states, belong to it. This all acknowledge. But upon its domestic duties, there has grown up a difference of opinion of great breadth, leading to divers conclusions, on the one side and the other.

Upon these duties it is my intention shortly to say something, and it is my wish that all remarks made upon the subject may be taken in that spirit of conciliation and candor, from which they proceed. I wish to persuade others of their correctness. I know we have a common destiny; that the good of the whole country, embraces the good of all its parts; and I desire that at all times, by free and candid discussion, and consideration, the differences of opinion which men entertain on these topics, may be reconciled, and that all may approach, and finally stand upon, the same ground.

A contest has agitated the country for years, upon the true extent of the powers of Congress, in two particulars.

1. As to its authority over the currency.

2. As to its power to encourage domestic industry by discrimination, in laying duties.

And first, as to the currency. All agree that Congress possesses the power to regulate commerce, for that provision is found in the Constitution in terms; and that it has the power to coin money, for those words are also found in the Constitution. But there is a wide difference of opinion as to what duties are or are not fairly inferable from these grants of power. In regard to this matter, which has so long divided the country, and which will continue to agitate it, till it shall be effectually settled, I must begin by a reference to some general principles and leading facts.

Congress possesses the commercial power, that is, the power of regulating commerce, and the power of coining money; and it may issue its own bills of credit. No State can either coin money, regulate commerce, or emit its own bills of credit. But, right or wrong, banking corporations are established under State authority, and issue bills; and these bills form, in fact, the mass of the circulating medium of the country. And now, since the use of these bills has become almost, if not wholly, universal, the question arises, on what government devolves the power of regulating the paper currency? Now, gentlemen, in my opinion—which I have entertained for many years—the General government is bound to take care of the currency of the country; I think that it has a duty beyond merely coining money and fixing its value; that the power to regulate commerce gives Congress authority over that great instrument and means of commerce, the actual circulating medium of the country; and that if paper is to take the place of coin, Congress is bound to see that it is safe paper, and such as is not likely to defraud and oppress the people; to become base in character, or run to excess. On these topics my opinions are well known. I will venture to repeat them here—though indeed it may be questionable taste to quote from one's self. In a speech in the Senate, on the Sub Treasury Bill, in September, 1837, I said:

Now, sir, when we look at the message, the bill, and the proposed amendment, their single, exclusive and undivided object is found to be, *relief to the government.* Not one single provision is adopted or recommended,

with direct reference to the relief of the people. They all speak of revenue, of finance, of duties and customs, of taxes and collections; and the evils which the people suffer, by the derangement of the currency and the exchanges, and the breaking up of commercial credit, instead of being put forth as prominent and leading objects of regard, are dismissed with a slight intimation, here and there, that in providing for the superior and paramount interests of government, some incidental or collateral benefits may, perhaps, accrue to the community.

But is government, I ask, to care for nothing but itself? Is self-preservation the great end of government? Has it no trust powers? Does it owe no duties but to itself? If it keeps itself in being, does it fulfil all the objects of its creation? I think not. I think government exists, not for its own ends, but for the public utility. It is an agency, established to promote the common good, by common counsels; its chief duties are to the people; and it seems to me strange and preposterous, in a moment of great and general distress, that government should confine all its deliberations to the single object of its own revenues, its own convenience, its own undisturbed administration.

I cannot say, Sir, that I was surprised to see this general character impressed on the face of the message. I confess, it appeared to me, when the banks stopped payment, that the Administration had come to a pass in which it was unavoidable that it should take some such course. But that necessity was imposed, not by the nature of the crisis, but by its own commitment to the line of politics which its predecessor had adopted, and which it had pledged itself to pursue.

It withdraws its care from the currency, because it has left itself no means of performing its own duties, connected with that subject. It has, voluntarily and on calculation, discarded and renounced the policy which has been approved for half a century, because it could not return to that policy without admitting its own inconsistency, and violating its party pledges. This is the truth of the whole matter.

Now, Sir, my present purpose chiefly is, to maintain two propositions—

1. That it is the constitutional duty of this government to see that a proper currency, suitable to the circumstances of the times, and to the wants of trade and business, as well as to the payment of debts due to government, be maintained and preserved; a currency of general credit, and capable of aiding the operations of exchange, so far as those operations may be conducted by means of the circulating medium; and that there are duties, therefore, devolving on Congress, in relation to currency, beyond the mere regulation of the gold and silver coins.

2. That the message, the bill, and the proposed amendment, all, in effect, deny any such duty, disclaim all such power, and confine the constitutional obligation of government to the mere regulation of the coins, and the care of its own revenues.

I have well weighed, Mr. President, and fully considered, the first of these propositions—to wit, that which respects the duty of this government in regard to the currency. I mean to stand by it. It expresses, in my judgment, a principle fully sustained by the Constitution, and by the usage of the government, and which is of the highest practical importance. With this proposition, or this principle, I am willing to stand connected, and to share in the judgment which the community shall ultimately pronounce upon it. If the country shall sustain it, and be ready, in due time, to carry it into effect, by such means and instruments as the general opinion shall think best to adopt, I shall co-operate, cheerfully, in any such undertaking; and shall look again, with confidence, to prosperity in this branch of our national concerns.

On the other hand, if the country shall reject this proposition, and act upon that rejection; if it shall decide that Congress has no power, nor is

under any duty, in relation to the currency, beyond the mere regulation of the coins; then, upon that construction of the powers and duties of Congress, I am willing to acknowledge that I do not feel myself competent to render any substantial service to the public councils, on these great interests. I admit, at once, that if the currency is not to be preserved by the government of the United States, I know not how it is to be guarded against constantly occurring disorders and derangements.

Before entering into the discussion of the grounds of this proposition, however, allow me, Sir, a few words by way of preliminary explanation. In the first place, I wish it to be observed, that I am now contending only for the general principle, and not insisting either on the constitutionality, or expediency, of any particular means or any particular agent. I am not saying by what instrument or agent Congress ought to perform this duty; I only say it is a duty, which, in some mode, and by some means, Congress is bound to perform. In the next place, let it be remembered, that I carry the absolute duty of government, in regard to exchange, no farther than the operations of exchange may be performed by currency. No doubt, Sir, a proper institution, established by government, might, as heretofore, give other facilities to exchange, of great importance, and to a very great extent. But I intend, on this occasion, to keep clearly within the constitution, and to assign no duty to Congress, not plainly enjoined by the provisions of that instrument, as fairly interpreted, and as heretofore understood.

The President says, it is not the province of government to aid individuals in the transfer of their funds, otherwise than by the use of the Post Office; and that it might as justly be called on to provide for the transportation of their merchandize.

Now, I beg leave to say, Sir, with all respect and deference, that funds are transferred from individual to individual, usually for the direct purpose of the payment and receipt of debts; that payment and receipt are duties of currency; that, in my opinion, currency is a thing which government is bound to provide for and superintend; that the case, therefore, has not the slightest resemblance to the transportation of merchandise, because the transportation of merchandise is carried on by ships and boats, by carts and wagons, and not by the use of currency, or of any thing else over which government has usually exclusive control. These things individuals can provide for themselves. But the transfer of funds is done by credit, and must be so done; and some proper medium for this transfer it is the duty of government to provide, because it belongs to currency, to money, and is therefore beyond the power of individuals.

To these extracts, I beg leave to add one from another speech on the same subject, in March, 1838.

Is this measure, Mr. President, a just exercise of the powers of Congress, and does it fulfil all our duties?

Sir, I have so often discussed this point, I have so constantly insisted, for several years past, on the constitutional obligation of Congress to take care of the currency, that the Senate must be already tired of the speaker, if not weary of the topic; and yet, after all, this is the great and paramount question. Until this is settled, the agitation can never be quieted. If we have not the power, we must leave the whole subject in the hands of those who have it, or in no hands; but if we have the power, we are bound to exercise it, and every day's neglect is a violation of duty. I, therefore, again insist that we have the power, and I again press its exercise on the two houses of Congress. I again assert, that the regulation of the general currency—of the money of the country, whatever actually constitutes that money—is one of our solemn duties.

The constitution confers on us, Sir, the exclusive power of coinage. This must have been done for the purpose of enabling Congress to establish one uniform basis for the whole money system. Congress, therefore, and Congress alone, has power over the foundation, the ground work, of the currency; and it would be strange and anomalous, having this, if it had nothing to do with the structure, the edifice, to be raised on this foundation! Convertible paper was already in circulation when the constitution was framed, and must have been expected to continue and to increase. But the circulation of paper tends to displace coin; it may banish it altogether; at this very moment it has banished it. If, therefore, the power over the coin does not enable Congress to protect the coin, and to restrain any thing which would supersede it, and abolish its use, the whole power becomes nugatory. If others may drive out the coin, and fill the country with paper which does not represent coin, of what use, I beg to know, is that exclusive power over coins and coinage which is given to Congress by the constitution?

Gentlemen on the other side admit that it is the tendency of paper circulation to expel the coin; but then they say, that, for that very reason, they will withdraw from all connection with the general currency, and limit themselves to the single and narrow object of protecting the coin, and providing for payments to government. This seems to me to be a very strange way of reasoning, and a very strange course of political conduct. The coinage power was given to be used for the benefit of the whole country, and not merely to furnish a medium for the collection of revenue. The object was to secure, for the general use of the people, a sound and safe circulating medium. There can be no doubt of this intent.

If any evil arises, threatening to destroy or endanger this medium or this currency, our duty is to meet it, not to retreat from it; to remedy it, not to let it alone; we are to control and correct the mischief, not to submit to it. Wherever paper is to circulate, as subsidiary to coin, or as performing, in a greater or less degree, the function of coin, its regulation naturally belongs to the hands which hold the power over the coinage. This is an admitted maxim by all writers; it has been admitted and acted upon, on all necessary occasions, by our own government, throughout its whole history. Why will we now think ourselves wiser than all who have gone before us?

This conviction of what was the duty of government, led to the establishment of the bank in the administration of General Washington. Mr. Madison, again, acted upon the same conviction in 1816, and Congress entirely agreed with him. On former occasions, I have referred the Senate, more than once, to the clear and emphatic opinions and language of Mr. Madison, in his messages in 1815 and 1816, and they ought to be repeated, again and again, and pressed upon the public attention.

Nor, Sir, is the other source of power, in my opinion, at all more questionable.

Congress has the supreme regulation of commerce. This gives it, necessarily, a superintendence over all the interests, agencies and instruments of commerce. The words are general, and they confer the whole power. When the end is given, all the usual means are given. Money is the chief instrument or agent of commerce; there can, indeed, be no commerce without it, which deserves the name. Congress must, therefore, regulate it as it regulates other indispensable commercial interests. If no means were to be used to this end but such as are particularly enumerated, the whole authority would be nugatory, because no means are particularly enumerated. We regulate ships, their tonnage, their measurement, the shipping articles, the medicine chest, and various other things belonging to them, and for all this we have no authority but the general power to

regulate commerce; none of these, or other means or modes of regulation, are particularly and expressly pointed out.

But is a ship a more important instrument of commerce than money? We protect a policy of insurance, because it is an important instrument of ordinary commercial contract; and our laws punish with death any master of a vessel, or others, who shall commit a fraud on the parties to this contract, by casting away a vessel. For all this we have no express authority. We infer it from the general power of regulating commerce, and we exercise the power in this case, because a policy of insurance is one of the usual instruments, or means, of commerce. But how inconsiderable and unimportant is a policy of insurance, as the means or an instrument of commerce, compared with the whole circulating paper of a country!

Sir, the power is granted to us; and granted without any specification of means; and therefore we may lawfully exercise all the usual means. I need not particularize these means, nor state, at present, what they are or may be. One is, no doubt, a proper regulation of receipts at the custom houses and land offices. But this, of itself, is not enough. Another is a national bank, which, I fully believe, would, even now, answer all desired purposes, and reinstate the currency in ninety days. These, I think, are the means to be first tried; and if, notwithstanding these, irredeemable paper should overwhelm us, others must be resorted to.

We have no direct authority over State banks; but we have power over the currency, and we must protect it, using, of course, always, such means, if they be found adequate, as shall be most gentle and mild. The great measure, Sir, is a bank; because a bank is not only able to restrain the excessive issues of State banks, but it is able also to furnish for the country a currency of universal credit, and of uniform value. This is the grand desideratum. Until such a currency is established, depend on it, Sir, what is necessary for the prosperity of the country can never be accomplished.

I will presume on your patience, gentlemen, only by reciting one farther quotation, which is from remarks of mine, made at a meeting in Faneuil Hall, in July, 1838.

Whatever subordinate questions may have been raised touching a Sub-Treasury, or a constitutional Treasury, or a Treasury in one, or in another, or in yet a third form, I take the question, the plain, the paramount, the practical question, to be this, viz:—whether it be among the powers and the duties of Congress to take any farther care of the National currency than to regulate the coinage of gold and silver.

That question lies at the foundation of all. Other questions, however multiplied or varied, have but grown out of that.

If Government is bound to take care that there is a good currency for all the country, then, of course, it will have a good currency for itself, and need take no especial pains to provide for itself any thing peculiar. But if, on the other hand, Government is at liberty to abandon the general currency to its fate, without concern and without remorse, then, from necessity, it must take care of itself; amidst the general wreck of currency and credit, it must have places of resort and a system of shelter; it must have a currency of its own, and modes of payment and disbursement peculiar to itself. It must burrow and hide itself in Sub-Treasury vaults; scorning credit, and having trust in nobody, it must grasp metallic money, and act as if nothing represented, or could represent, property, which could not be counted, paid piece by piece, or weighed in the scales and made to ring upon the tables; or it must resort to special deposites in banks, even in those banks whose conduct has been so loudly denounced as flagitious and

criminal, treacherous to the Government, and fraudulent toward the people.

All these schemes and contrivances are but the consequences of the general doctrine which the administration has advanced, and attempted to recommend to the country; that is, that Congress has nothing to do with the currency, beyond the mere matter of coinage, except to provide for itself. How such a notion should come to be entertained, at this day, may well be a matter of wonder for the wise; since it is a truth capable of the clearest demonstration, that from the first day of the existence of the Constitution, from the moment when a practical administration of government drew a first breath under its provisions, the superintendence and care over the currency of the country have been admitted to be among the clear and unquestionable powers and duties of Congress. This was the opinion in Washington's time, and his administration acted upon it, vigorously and successfully. And in Mr. Madison's time, when the peculiar circumstances of the country again brought up the subject, and gave it new importance, it was held to be the exclusive, or at least the paramount and unquestionable right of Congress, to take care of the currency; to restore it when depreciated; to see that there was a sound, convertible paper circulation, suited to the circumstances of the country, and having equal value, and the same credit, in all parts of it. This was Mr. Madison's judgment. He acted upon it, and both houses of Congress concurred with him. But if we now quote Mr. Madison's sentiments, we get no reply at all. We may read his messages of 1815 and 1816 as often as we please. No man answers them, and yet the party of the administration acts upon directly opposite principles.

Now, what has brought about this state of things? What has caused this attempt, now made at the end of half a century, to change a great principle of administration, and to surrender a most important power of the government?

Gentlemen, it has been a crisis of party, not of the country, which has given birth to these new sentiments. The tortuous windings of party policy have conducted us, and nothing else could well have conducted us, to such a point. Nothing but party pledges, nothing but courses of political conduct, entered upon for party purposes, and pursued, from necessary regard to personal and party consistency, could so far have pushed the government out of its clear and well-trodden path of constitutional duty. From General Washington's presidency, to the last hour of the late president's, (Gen. Jackson's,) both the government and the country have supposed Congress to be clothed with the general duty of protecting the currency, either as an inference from the coinage power, or from the obvious and incontestable truth, that the regulation of the currency is naturally and plainly a branch of the commercial power. General Jackson himself was behind no one of his predecessors in asserting this power, and in acknowledging the corresponding duty. We all know that his very first complaint against the late Bank of the United States was, that it had not fulfilled the expectation of the country, by furnishing for the use of the people a sound and uniform currency.

There were many persons, certainly, who did not agree with him in his opinions respecting the bank, and the effects of its agency on the country; but it was expressly on the ground of this alleged failure of the bank, that he undertook what was called the great reform. There are those, again, who think that, of this attempted reform, he made a very poor and sorry business; but still the truth is, that he undertook this reform, for the very professed and avowed purpose, that he might fulfil, better than it had yet been fulfilled, the duty of government in furnishing the people with a good currency. The President thought that the currency, in 1832 and 1833, was not good enough; that the people had a right to expect a better; and to meet this expectation, he began, what he himself called his *experi-*

ment. He said the currency was not so sound, and so uniform, as it was the duty of government to make it; and he, therefore, undertook to give us a currency more sound and more uniform. And now, gentlemen, let us recur, shortly, to what followed; for there we shall find the origin of the present constitutional notions and dogmas. Let us see what has changed the Constitution, in this particular.

In 1833, the public deposites were removed, by an act of the President himself, from the Bank of the United States, and placed in certain State banks, under regulations prescribed by the Executive alone. This was the experiment. The utmost confidence, indeed—an arrogant and intolerant confidence—was entertained and expressed of its success; and all were regarded as blind bigots to a National bank, who doubted. And when the experiment was put into operation, it was proclaimed that its success was found to be complete. Down to the very close of General Jackson's administration, we heard of nothing but the wonderful success of the experiment.

It was declared, from the highest official sources, that the State banks, used as banks of deposite, had not only shown themselves perfectly competent to fulfil the duties of fiscal agents to government, but, also, that they had sustained the currency, and facilitated the great business of internal exchanges, with the most singular and gratifying success, and better than the same thing had been done before. In all this glow and fervor of self-commendation, the late administration went out of office, having bequeathed the experiment, with all its blushing honors and rising glories, to its successor. But a frost, a nipping frost, was at hand. Two months after General Jackson had retired, the banks suspended specie payments, deposite banks and all; a universal embarrassment smote down the business and industry of the country; the Treasury was left without a dollar; and the brilliant glory of the experiment disappeared in gloom and thick darkness!

And now, gentlemen, came the change of sentiments; and now came the new reading of the Constitution. A National bank had already been declared by the party to be unconstitutional; the State bank system had failed; and what more could be done? What other plan was to be devised? How could the duty of government over the currency be now performed? The administration had decried a National bank, and it now felt bound to denounce all State institutions; and what therefore could it do? The whole party had laid out its entire strength, in an effort to render the late Bank of the United States, and any Bank of the United States, unpopular and odious. It had pronounced all such institutions to be dangerous, anti-republican, and monarchical. It had especially declared a National bank to be plainly and clearly unconstitutional.

Now, gentlemen, I have nothing to say of the diffidence and modesty of men, who, without hesitation or blushing, set up their own favorite opinions, on a question of this kind, against the judgment of the government and the judgment of the country, maintained for fifty years. I will only remark that, if we were to find men acting thus in their own affairs, if we should find them disposing of their own interests, or making arrangements for their own property, in contempt of rules which they knew the legislative and the judicial authorities had all sanctioned for half a century, we should be very likely to think them out of their heads. Yet this ground had been taken against the late bank, and against all National banks; and it could not be surrendered without apparent and gross inconsistency. What, then, I ask again, was the Administration to do? You may say, it should have retracted its error, it should have seen the necessity of a National institution, and yielded to the general judgment of the country.

But that would have required an effort of candor and magnanimity of

which all men are not capable. Besides, there were open, solemn, public pledges in the way. This commitment of the party against a National bank, and the disastrous results of its experiment on the State institutions, brought the party into the dilemma, from which it seemed to have no escape, but in shifting off, altogether, the duty of taking care of the currency. I was at Wheeling, in Virginia, in May of that year, (1837,) when the banks suspended payments, and at the risk of some imputation of bad taste, I will refer to observations of mine, made then, to the citizens of that town, and published, in regard to the questions which that event would necessarily bring before the country. I saw, at once, that we were at the commencement of a new era, and that a controversy must arise, which would greatly excite the community.

No sooner had the State banks suspended, and among the rest those which were depositories of the government, than a cry of fraud and treachery was raised against them, with no better reason, perhaps, than existed for that loud, and boisterous, and boastful confidence, with which the late administration had spoken of their capacity of usefulness, and had assured the country that its experiment could not fail. But whether the suspension by the banks was a matter of necessity with them, or not, the administration, after it had happened, seeing itself now shut out from the use of all banks, by its own declared opinions, and the result of its own policy, and seeing no means at hand for making another attempt at reforming the currency, turned a short corner, and in all due form abandoned the whole duty. From the time of the veto to the bank charter in 1832, the administration had been like a man who had voluntarily abandoned a safe bottom, on deep waters, and having in vain sought to support himself by laying hold on one and another piece of floating timber, chooses rather to go down, than to seek safety in returning to what he has abandoned.

Seeing that it had deprived itself of the common means of regulating the currency, it now denied its obligation to do so, declared it had nothing to do with the currency beyond coinage; that it would take care of the revenues of government, and as for the rest, the people must look out for themselves. This decision thus evidently grew out of party necessity. Having deprived themselves of the ordinary and constitutional means of performing their duty, they sought to avoid the responsibility by declaring that there was no such duty to perform. They have looked further into the Constitution, and examined it by daylight, and by moonlight, and cannot find any such duty or obligation. Though General Jackson saw it, very plainly, during the whole of his Presidency, it has now vanished, and the new commentators can nowhere discern a vestige of it. The present administration, indeed, stood pledged to tread in the steps of its predecessor; but here was one footprint which it could not, or would not, occupy, or one stride too long for it to take. The message, I had almost said the fatal message, communicated to Congress in September, 1837, contained a formal disavowal, by the administration, of all power under the Constitution to regulate the general actual currency of the country.

The President says, in that message, that if he refrains from suggesting to Congress any specific plan for regulating the exchanges, relieving mercantile embarrassments, or interfering with the ordinary operations of foreign or domestic commerce, it is from the conviction that such measures are not within the constitutional province of government.

How all this could be said, when the Constitution expressly gives to Congress the power to regulate commerce, both foreign and domestic, I cannot conceive. But the Constitution was not to be trifled with, and the people are not to be trifled with. The country, I believe, by a great majority, is of opinion that this duty *does belong* to government, and ought to be exercised. All the new expounders have not been able to

erase this general power over commerce, and all that belongs to commerce. Their fate, in this respect, is like that of him in ancient story. While endeavoring to tear up and rend asunder the Constitution, its strong fibres have recoiled, and caught them in the cleft. They experience

"Milo's fearful end—
Wedged in the timber which he strove to rend."

Gentlemen, this constitutional power can never be surrendered. We may as well give up the whole commercial power at once, and throw every thing connected with it back upon the States. If Congress surrender the power, to whom shall it pass, or where shall it be lodged? Shall it be left to six and twenty different legislatures? To eight hundred or a thousand unconnected banks? No, gentlemen, to allow that authority to be surrendered, would be to abandon the vessel of State, without pilot or helm, and to suffer her to roll, darkling, down the current of her fate.

For the sake of avoiding all misapprehensions, on this most important subject, I wish to state my own opinion, clearly, and in few words. I have never said, that it is an indispensable duty of Congress, under all circumstances, to establish a National bank. No such duty, certainly, is created by the Constitution, in express terms. I do not say *what particular measures* are enjoined by the Constitution, in this respect. Congress has its discretion, and is left to its own judgment, as to the means most proper to be employed. But I say the general duty does exist.

I maintain that Congress is bound to take care, by some proper means, to secure a good currency for the people; and that, while this duty remains unperformed, one great object of the Constitution is not attained. If we are to have as many different currencies as there are States, and these currencies are to be liable to perpetual fluctuation, it would be folly to say that we had reached that security and uniformity in commercial regulations, which we know it was the purpose of the Constitution to establish.

The banks may all of them resume to-morrow—I hope they will; but how much will this resumption accomplish? It will doubtless afford good local currencies; but will it give the country any proper and safe paper currency, of equal and universal value? Certainly it cannot, and will not. Will it bring back, for any length of time, exchanges to the state they were in, when there was a National currency in existence? Certainly, in my opinion, it will not. We may heap gold bags upon gold bags, we may create what securities, in the constitution of local banks, we please, but we cannot give to any such bank a character that shall insure the receipt of its notes, with equal readiness, everywhere throughout the valley of the Mississippi, and from the shores of the Gulf of Mexico to the St. Lawrence. Nothing can accomplish this, but an institution which is National in its character. The people desire to see, in their currency, the marks of this nationality. They like to see the spread eagle, and where they see that, they have confidence.

I have observed already, gentlemen, that I have very little that is new to say on these points. The above remarks, it will be seen, put the question in this shape—and to this I adhere, to this day—that if Congress is bound to furnish a currency for the people, as well as for the government, then something beyond a Sub-Treasury, something more than a vault, or series of vaults, where the public money can be collected, and whence it can be distributed, is necessary; on the other hand, if Congress is not bound to do this, then it may resort to any scheme it may

deem proper, for the collection and disbursement of revenue; although, even for that purpose, it is quite idle and ridiculous, in my opinion, to talk about vaults, and safes, and bolts, and locks.

Now, gentlemen, there are three propositions which I would gladly submit to every candid man in every part of the country; because it is my wish to establish the principles I espouse, in the minds of men, by convincing them that they are honest, just, and will tend to the benefit of community. These propositions are—

1st. That paper, in the present state and condition of society, will, and must, constitute the greater part of the currency—the mass of the circulation.

All the humbug about a specie currency—a hard money system—is altogether unworthy of a man of sense. We know that we *must*, from some source or other, have paper for circulation, and for the greater part of the circulation. Is there a man here—is there a man anywhere—who will say without a blush, that he expects an exclusive specie currency? Can any sensible man so say, without feeling his cheek burn with shame? There is none such. Well, then, is there any one not satisfied,

2d. That a part, at least, of this paper currency, should be universally, and every where, of equal value, and that value equivalent to specie.

Is it not highly desirable that we should have a circulating medium of universal receivability—if I may use such a word? The inhabitants of Maine, Georgia, the Valley of the Mississippi—is it not to be wished that they all may have some paper which every body will take? All candid men must admit that it is. It is an object of high importance that the people of Illinois, Indiana, Alabama, should have something which they can remit, without loss, to pay the manufacturers of Essex for their goods—it is as great an object to the Essex manufacturers that they should. Well, if this be admitted, there is only one more proposition, and that is—

3d. That no State institution, nothing but the authority of the United States, can furnish such a universal circulating medium.

Can any State institution furnish such a currency? Have we seen any instance of it whatever? We all know the con-

trary. We have, in Massachusetts, bills of State banks which are good and current throughout Massachusetts. They have the same in Virginia. But if any of you were to go to-morrow to Richmond, or Petersburg, you would not find your Massachusetts money current there—although, indeed, you might find brokers who would give you a premium on the bills, for the purpose of Northern remittances; still, your Massachusetts bills would not be generally received.

The citizens of each State know the condition of their own institutions; and they trust them as far as they ought. But they do not know, and ought not to be expected to know, the condition and credit of all the institutions of all the States. On the other hand, they do know the general laws and the general institutions of the General government, and the credit to which those institutions are entitled. We must then revert to the government, which has the control of commerce and the control of the currency—whose "spread eagle" is good every where. And it is but a reasonable and just demand, to require such a government to give us a currency which shall be welcome every where, and trusted every where.

Now, where is this power? I answer, In the authority of Congress to regulate commerce, and the great agent of commerce, money. Congress has the power of commercial regulation by the Constitution; it has also the power to coin; and according to Mr. Madison's matured judgment, the power to coin, implies the power to say what shall take the place of the coinage, if that coinage be displaced by paper. I will not go over the whole range of the constitutional argument. Suffice it to say, that those who made the Constitution did not doubt this power. Gen. Washington did not doubt it, for he established an institution for this very purpose—or at least, it was established under his immediate authority and sanction. Mr. Madison did not doubt it,—and I mention his name because its authority is much relied on, as generally not favoring liberal constructions of constitutional powers. If not convinced in his own private judgment, he said, as any reasonable man would say, that the Constitution has thus been long interpreted—that its meaning was fixed and must not be disturbed. That was right. We have had a bank for forty years; some say now it is unconstitutional. Will they say so forty years hence?

Will they then think that what was thought right by our fathers and grandfathers, who formed the Constitution and established the government, was wholly wrong? I suspect not. We must take the meaning of the Constitution as it has been solemnly fixed,—fixed by practice, fixed by successive acts of Congress, fixed by solemn judicial decision, or we never shall have any settled meaning, at all.

It is absurd to say, that no precedent, no practice, no judicial decision, no assent of successive legislators, nor all these together, can fix the meaning of an article in the fundamental law.

I am well aware, gentlemen, that at the present moment, and in the commercial States, the evils of a disordered currency are partially remedied, and not so severely felt. But in some parts of the country they are as bad as ever. In the South and West, there is no money which deserves the name. The people trade almost wholly by barter. What they do call money, is entirely without a fixed or general value; and the great depreciation and fluctuation in the currency, is the cause of much demoralization in the community, and a fruitful source of other evils. Of all bad systems this is the worst. And though we in this part of the country, just now, feel no particular harm from this source, yet the evil day will come.

There are certain laws of trade which will always operate, so long as man is man, and which cannot be violated with impunity; and just as surely as this is the case, just so sure shall we again feel the effects of a disordered currency. There is now, in the mercantile phrase, a better feeling in the community, at least in the Atlantic States. There is an appearance of returning prosperity and a revival of business; but there are a thousand banks in the country, ready to lend money to good customers, under the doctrine, to which I cannot wholly agree, that all safe business paper may be discounted without danger. A plenty of money will raise prices—prosperity will beget excess—and excess must result in revulsion. And these alternations will be our lot, and our history, so long as we have no general regulator of the currency.

Now, I will not say—I never have said—that a Bank of the United States is absolutely necessary; but I have said that it has been tried for forty years with success, and is therefore en-

titled to respectful consideration. Some eight years ago, in the Senate of the United States, I said that a National bank had done much good to the country, yet it was not worth my while to propose its re-establishment, while there was no general call of the people for such a measure. I remain of that opinion. I have said, more recently, that a National bank of private subscriptions, and with the power of private discounts, is out of the question. I think so still, though it may be I am mistaken. My reason is, because State institutions for these purposes have become so much multiplied, and because many States derive large portions of their revenue from taxes upon the capital of such banks. Nevertheless, I am quite willing to agree that a Bank of the United States, upon the old model, is perfectly constitutional; and if in the opinion of a future Congress, and in the judgment of the country, such an institution should be deemed expedient, it shall have my hearty support. But my opinion is, that the country much more needs some institution under National authority, with power to restrain in some just mode, the amount of paper issues, than it needs a bank which may itself make large discounts to individuals.

I have thus spoken upon commerce and the currency. These lead directly to the tariff, or the policy of encouraging domestic industry by laying discriminating duties on foreign importations.

I wish to state my opinions on this topic with some degree of precision, because I believe there is a sort of ultraism prevailing with regard to it, characteristic of the age. People run into extremes, not only in politics, but in all other matters. They are either on the Ganges, or at the extremity of the West. There are men who would carry a tariff to prohibition —again there are those who assert it to be perfectly unconstitutional to lay duties with the least regard to favoring or encouraging the products of our own country. My opinion is, that the power of favoring or encouraging productions of our own, by just discriminations in imposing duties for revenue, on imports, does belong to Congress, and ought to be exercised, in all proper cases.

This, gentlemen, is my opinion, and I should be perfectly willing to discuss the matter with any candid man in the Commonwealth.

There are two propositions to which I invite your attention.

1st. Congress has the power to lay duties of impost. No State has this power. This is a most important consideration.

2d. Before the adoption of the Constitution, and while the States could lay impost duties, several of them laid such duties, with discriminations avowedly intended to foster their own products. They now can do no such thing. It must be done by Congress, or not at all.

Now the power of Congress is to regulate commerce. And in all English history, and all our own history, down to the Revolution, and to the time of the adoption of the Constitution, importation of some articles was encouraged, and of others discouraged, or prohibited, by *regulations of trade.* The regulation of trade, therefore, was a term of well known meaning, and did comprehend the duty, or object, of discriminating, with a view to favor home productions. We find this to have been so in England, from the time of her Tudors and Stuarts down, and in America, the opinion I have stated was held by Otis, Adams, and the other great and eminent men of the Revolution. But upon this point I need not dwell, for the whole doctrine has been placed upon immutable foundations by a son of your own county, a most distinguished member of the Senate of the United States, (Hon. Rufus Choate,) in his speech of March, 1842.

The amount of the whole matter is this. History instructs us, that before the Constitution was formed, the States laid duties of imposts; but each only for itself, and therefore the duties were very different and unequal; and the States which laid duties for the protection of their own manufactures, were immediately exposed to competition from others that had no manufactures, who would open their ports freely to the goods taxed by their neighbors. We see at once how vain it would be for one State to look only to her own interests, while all the others were looking only to theirs. Take a supposed instance, for example, in the case of Massachusetts and Rhode Island. Massachusetts had manufactures—Rhode Island had none. Massachusetts laid duties on imported goods—Rhode Island did not. The consequence would be, that the goods taxed by Massachusetts in her seaport towns, would be brought free into Newport or Providence, and it would only be by a cordon of

custom houses throughout the whole extent of her border, that Massachusetts could prevent the introduction of those goods into her territories.

The case is suppositious, but I speak to Massachusetts men, who understand the effect of such a system, whose fathers experienced it, and I tell them that this obvious effect produced, in Massachusetts, as much as any thing, the disposition to come under a general government, and to ratify the Constitution. It was, in fact, the full belief of the people, that this power of laying discriminating duties was granted to Congress, as part of the revenue power, and that it would be exercised. They had a right to expect, and did expect, that it would be used beneficially for their interests.

The whole history of the country, from 1783 to 1788, proves this. That history is as important as that of any period of our national existence. We see in it the then infant States struggling under a load of debt incurred in the sacred cause of the Revolution—struggling under the extinction of commerce and prostration of manufactures—and struggling all in vain. These things produced that strong disposition which prevailed in 1784, '85, '86, '87 and '88, to establish a uniform system of commercial regulations, and extend also all proper encouragement to manufactures.

Gentlemen, a native of Massachusetts, certainly inferior to none in sagacity, and whose name confers honor upon the whole country—Dr. Benjamin Franklin—in 1787, expressed his sentiments upon these points in a very remarkable manner. The Convention to deliberate upon the formation of the Constitution was held in Philadelphia in May, 1787. Dr. Franklin was then, if I remember aright, the governor of Pennsylvania, and was chosen also as a member of the Convention. As the delegates were assembling, he invited them to his house, and read to them a paper on this subject, which was subsequently printed, and to extracts from this I would call your attention. (*Vide Appendix No.* 1.)

Such, gentlemen, were the sentiments of Dr. Franklin. They prove his far sighted sagacity, which could discern what was than visible to so few eyes; and that wisdom, which pointed out a course so greatly beneficial.

Let me now revert to the opinions of Massachusetts in this

respect; to this good old Bay State, whose citizens we are proud to be, and whose early espousal of the cause of a National Government is so well known. I will observe, first, that at the time these sentiments were uttered by Dr. Franklin, and indeed, till a very recent period, the manufacturers of the country were shop-workmen; tailors, hatters, smiths, shoe-makers, and others, who wrought in their own shops; but still the principle is the same as if they were banded into corporations. And he who denies to Congress the power to protect manufactures, as now carried on, denies protection as much to every individual workman, as to Andover or Lowell. Let all classes of artisans, in the cities and villages, think well of this.

Now, gentlemen, it did so happen that in the years of severe disaster between the peace and the formation of the Constitution, the merchants and mechanics of Boston had their attention called to the subject, and their proceedings, only a little earlier than this paper of Dr. Franklin's, sprang from the same sense of necessity. I will trouble you to listen to some of them, which I gather from the publications of that day.

Boston, April 18, 1785.

The minds of the people being greatly and justly agitated by the apparent intention of the government and the merchants of Great Britain to deprive the industrious trader of every benefit of commerce, by the entire monopoly of the same to themselves, and this apprehension being increased by authentic advices received by the last ships,—at a numerous and respectable meeting of the MERCHANTS, TRADERS, and others concerned, at Faneuil Hall, on Saturday, the 16th instant, to consider the alarming state of our trade and navigation, the following votes were unanimously agreed to:

Whereas no commercial treaty is at present established between the United States and Great Britain, and whereas certain British merchants, factors and agents from England are now residing in this town who have received large quantities of English goods, and are in expectation of receiving farther supplies imported in British bottoms or otherwise, greatly to the hindrance of freight in all American vessels; and as many more such persons are daily expected to arrive among us, which threatens an entire monopoly of all British importations in the hands of such merchants, agents or factors, which we apprehend will operate to the prejudice of the interest of this country,

Therefore, to prevent as far as possible the evil tendency of such persons continuing among us, (excepting those of them who shall be approbated by the selectmen) and to discourage the sale of their merchandize, we, the merchants, traders and others of the town of Boston do agree,

First, That a committee be appointed to draft a petition to Congress, representing the embarrassments under which the trade now labors, and the still greater to which it is exposed; and that the said committee be empowered and directed to write to the several seaports in this State, requesting them to join with the merchants in this town in similar applications to Congress, immediately to regulate the trade of the United States

agreeably to the powers vested in them by the government of this Commonwealth; and also to obtain instructions to their Representatives at the next General Court, to call the attention of their delegates in Congress, to the importance of bringing forward such regulations as shall place our commerce on a footing of equality.

Voted, That the said committee be requested to write to the merchants in the several seaports of the other United States, earnestly recommending to them an immediate application to the Legislatures of their respective States to vest such powers in Congress (if not already done) as shall be competent to the interesting purposes aforesaid, and also to petition Congress to make such regulations as shall have the desired effect:

Voted, That we do pledge our honor that we will not directly or indirectly purchase any goods of, or have any commercial connexions whatever with, such British merchants, factors, or agents as are now residing among us, or may hereafter arrive, either from England or any part of the British dominions, (excepting such persons as shall be approved as aforesaid) and we will do all in our power to prevent all persons acting under us from having any commercial intercourse with them, until the salutary purposes of these resolutions shall have been accomplished.

So far, the merchants. Now, what said the mechanics, the artizans, the shop-workmen to this? You shall see:—

Boston, Wednesday, April 27.

At the adjournment of the meeting of TRADESMEN, &c., held at the Green Dragon Tavern on Monday last, the following report of their committee was read and accepted:—

Voted, That a committee be appointed by this body to draft a petition to the next General Court, setting forth the difficulties the MANUFACTURERS of this town labor under by the importation of certain articles, (to be enumerated in the petition,) and praying a prohibition, or that such duties may be laid as will effectually protect the manufacture of the same.

Voted, That we do bear our public testimony against sending away our circulating cash, for foreign remittances, as this practice we conceive is calculated to impoverish the country, to distress individuals in the prosecution of their business and in the payment of their taxes.

Voted, That a committee be appointed to write to the committee of merchants and traders of this town, enclosing them a copy of these votes, and desiring a mutual correspondence on the subject.

Boston, Saturday, May 7.

Proceedings of the Traders and Manufacturers.

On Thursday last, agreeable to the notification, a meeting of the committee from the TRADERS and MANUFACTURERS of the town was held at the Green Dragon, consisting of twenty different branches, when the committee appointed at a former meeting reported the following letter, sent to the committee of merchants, traders and other citizens:—

Boston, April 26, 1785.

Gentlemen—We, being appointed by the TRADESMEN and MANUFACTURERS of this town to inform you what measures they have adopted at this important crisis of our affairs, beg leave to enclose a copy of their proceedings, which they hope will meet with your approbation.

We shall, by all measures in our power, endeavor to cultivate that har-

mony so essentially necessary at this time; and recollect with pleasing satisfaction the union that has always subsisted between the merchants, tradesmen and manufacturers of this town; we should regret if any measures should be now adopted by either, to impair that affection which has ever been our happiness to boast.

But as the several branches of our occupations have of late been materially affected by European importations, we conceive ourselves in duty bound to prevent, if possible, those supplies either by foreigners or own merchants.

We have therefore voted a petition to be presented to the next General Court for this purpose, and as we doubt not the sincerity of your declaration, "to encourage the manufactures of this country," we trust you will support with your whole influence any measures calculated to promote so desirable an object. We are, gentlemen,

With every sentiment of esteem,
Your obedient and humble servants,
JOHN GRAY,
BENJAMIN AUSTIN, Jr.
SAMUEL G. JARVIS,
JOHN SKINNER,
SARSON BELCHER.

To the Committee of Merchants, Traders, and others.

Well, how did the merchants receive this? I will show you. Here is a letter, signed in their behalf, by that great Patriot, and Prince of merchants, John Hancock. Here was a full coöperation, between MERCHANTS and MANUFACTURERS, for the united support of their own interests.

BOSTON, May 2, 1785.

Gentlemen—Your communications of the 26th ult. were interesting and agreeable. Our situation is truly critical. To the United States in Congress we look for effectual relief, and to them we have accordingly appealed.

We rejoice to find our sentiments and views harmonizing with yours, and hope that our united exertions will be crowned with the desired success.

Shall cheerfully use what influence we have in promoting and encouraging the manufactures of our country, and for obtaining at the next General Court such restrictions and excises as may have so happy a tendency.

We derive great support from that unanimity which appears to actuate our respective proceedings, and while that subsists we can no more despair of the commerce, trade and manufactures, than of the liberties of America.

We are, gentlemen, with much esteem,
Your most humble servants,
JOHN HANCOCK,
In the name and in behalf of the Committee of Merchants, Tradesmen, and others.

To JOHN GRAY, Esq., Chairman of the Committee of Tradesmen, Manufacturers, &c.

But the mechanics did not limit their addresses to the merchants of Boston. They addressed a spirited and sensible letter to all the tradesmen and manufacturers of the Commonwealth. *(Vide Appendix No. 2.)*

Now, what is all this? and what does it prove? Why, though at peace with England, our ships could not visit her ports, or, in fact, those of any European nation. We had no national flag; we were unknown upon the seas; consequently the British bottoms enjoyed the monopoly of our trade. So great, indeed, was the depression among all classes, that some gentlemen who had a little property left from the Revolution, contributed to build three or four ships, on the Mystic river, so as to give some employment to working ship builders. But, having no national character, and no means of sustaining commerce, these ships rotted on the ways, or at the wharves. The merchants of Boston thought that voluntary agreements were the only means in their power, and the agreement quoted above was one result of their opinions.

Now, gentlemen, you have seen what happened in this state of things. The MERCHANTS having thus resolved not to use goods imported in foreign bottoms, in order to protect their own interests, the MANUFACTURING CLASSES assembled, and, in view of protecting *their* interests, they resolved not to use imported goods at all. They appealed to the merchants, as you have seen, and the appeal was answered with expressions of sympathy and support.—The artisans, with Paul Revere and John Gray at their head, next addressed themselves to the mechanics in various parts of the State, setting forth the fatal consequences to their interests, not only of importations in British vessels, but of importations of foreign goods, free of tax, in any vessels whatever. They petitioned Governor Bowdoin, and the Legislature, for relief, by the establishment of imposts. But, as I have said, what could a single State do?

This state of things continued till 1788, when the Massachusetts Convention to consider the Constitution, was held in Boston. Some of the most eminent persons who have shed lustre on the State, were members of that Convention, and many of them felt great doubts about adopting the Constitution, as is well known. Among these were two individuals, none other than John Hancock and Samuel Adams, the proscribed patriots. But the energy, determination, perseverance and earnestness, of the mechanics and tradesmen of Boston, influenced even these wise and great men, and tended to, and did, contribute to the ratification of the Constitution, in an eminent

degree. Any man will see this, who will look into the public transactions of that day.

There was a particular set of resolutions, founded on this very idea of favoring home productions, full of energy and decision, passed by the mechanics of Boston. And where did the mechanics of Boston meet to pass them? Full of the influence of these feelings, they congregated at the head quarters of the Revolution. I see, waving among the banners before me, that of the old Green Dragon. It was there, in Union street, that John Gray, Paul Revere, and others of their class, met for consultation. There, with earnestness and enthusiasm, they passed their resolutions. A committee carried them to the Boston delegation in the Convention. Mr. Samuel Adams asked Colonel Revere, how many mechanics were at the meeting; and Colonel Revere answered, "More than there are stars in heaven."

The resolutions had their effect. The Constitution was established—and a universal burst of joy from all classes—merchants, manufacturers, and mechanics, proclaimed the exultation of the people at the thrice happy event. The journals of the day tell us that,

> On the ratification being declared, a very large concourse of spectators testified their satisfaction by repeated huzzas, and the whole Convention having been previously invited, partook with a number of respectable citizens at a decent repast prepared in the Senate Chamber, where, in mutual congratulations and testimonials of satisfaction, all party ideas were done away, and such a spirit of joy, union and urbanity diffused, as, if continued, must be attended with the most happy consequences through the Commonwealth. The toasts given were truly conciliatory, and were, we believe, drunk with sincerity by every one present. All appeared willing to bury the hatchet of animosity, and to smoke the calumet of union and love.
>
> After this repast, the Convention dissolved. Thus far the proceedings of the Convention. Now for those of the people.
>
> The Committee of Tradesmen met, and, by public advertisement, requested the attendance of the mechanics and artisans of every description in town, at Faneuil Hall, in order to form and proceed in grand procession therefrom, to testify their approbation of the ratification of the Federal Constitution by the Convention.

This "grand procession took place;" and the artisans, mechanics, and manufacturers of Boston, together with the merchants, and all other classes, indulged in the hope, not more sanguine than the event warranted, that, under the operation of the new national Constitution, prosperity would return, business revive, cheerfulness and contentment overspread the land, and

the country go rapidly forward in its career of growth and success.

But, Gentlemen, this sentiment and feeling were not merely the sentiment and feeling of Massachusetts.—We may look at the debates in all the State conventions, and the expositions of all the greatest men in the country—particularly in Massachusetts and Virginia—the great Northern and Southern stars—and we shall find it every where held up as the great reason for the adoption of the Constitution, that it would give the General government the power to regulate commerce and trade. This power was thus considered established, by the framers of the Constitution, and has been steadily recognized by the government. It was distinctly and in terms, recognized, by the very first act laying duties of imposts; and notwithstanding doubts, and denial of it, in excited times, it yet pervades the whole history of our legislation. The power, therefore, being clear, and its application in times past certain, the remaining question respects its utility and expediency.

Here, again, let me say, that I wish no exercise of the power, without much consideration and moderation. The shipping interest, the mercantile interest, as well as the mechanic interest, are concerned—and both and all must be looked after and cared for. I wish, in fixing all laws on this subject, that nothing excessive may be introduced; that no traps shall be laid; that nothing unexpected shall spring up in the way of the mercantile, or any other interest; but that only that shall be enacted, which will be expedient for the whole country.

And let me remark upon the extreme injustice of attacking the tariff on the ground that it favors the rich corporations of New England. We know that this opinion has no real foundation. We know that corporations are only partnerships, carried on in a more convenient manner than they could be by indenture; that they are no monopolies; and that it is because of their convenience only that they are employed.

Gentlemen, I believe that a tariff of moderate duties, carefully laid, is expedient for the whole country.

1st. Because it augments the aggregate of national wealth, by stimulating labor.

Moderate imposts upon such articles as we can and do manufacture, must inevitably furnish a stimulus to our labor, and it

is now the general, nearly the universal opinion, that labor is the source of wealth. Capital is a stimulus to labor. Now, to me, it appears very plain that the stimulus can be applied here with greater effect than at a distance, and that, consequently, the country will be benefited accordingly. On this point, I am aware of the authority of McCulloch and Mr. Senior, writers of the very highest repute, both of whom I have the honor to know, and whom I greatly esteem.

Mr. McCulloch is a gentleman who has contributed more than any man of our age to a correct knowledge of statistics and political economy. But if I may venture to say so, I think some of his opinions a little too abstract—or at least, not applicable here. Our state, I think, peculiar; we have no such broad distinction between capital and labor as prevails in England. There is, indeed, no subject which so much requires an Essay to set forth all its prominence, importance and peculiarity, as American Labor; there is nothing like it on the globe; and there never was.

Our labor reaches beyond mere subsistence. In Europe the case is different. We know that, with us, labor earns for itself and creates a capital; and looking at our country, we therefore see that her condition is, and will be, most fortunate and happy for a century to come.

Gentlemen, the labor of the United States is respectable. We are emphatically a country of labor; and labor with us is not reluctant drudgery. It is cheerful, contented, spirited; because it is respectable, and because it is certain of its reward. Labor every where mixes itself with capital. The fields around us—how many of them are tilled by their owners! The shops in our towns—how many are occupied by their proprietors, for the convenient pursuit of their callings! Hence, in the United States, we see labor and capital mixed together in a degree unequalled in the world. What is the value of a hundred acres of land at the foot of the Rocky mountains or in the remote regions of Spanish South America? Nothing at all. There is no value to any land till man has mixed his labor with it. But the moment an American laborer drives his plough through these acres, or fells a tree upon them, that moment he creates a capital, which every step he takes, and every stroke he gives, constantly augments. He thus not only lives

by labor, but every day's work, while it gives him subsistence, adds to his means, his property, his capital. Where else in this world shall we find the same state of things, to such a degree?

I have ventured to express a doubt whether all the opinions of McCulloch are applicable to us; but I acknowledge, with pleasure, that on the subject of the importance of high wages, he has expressed himself in the justest and noblest terms. He has laid down maxims which lie at the foundation of national prosperity in its highest state. This is what he says:

"The best interests of society require that the rate of wages should be elevated as high as possible; that a taste for the comforts, luxuries and enjoyments of human life, should be widely diffused, and, if possible, interwoven with the national habits and prejudices.—A low rate of wages, by rendering it impossible for increased exertions to obtain any considerable increase of comforts and enjoyment, effectually hinders any such exertion from ever being made, and is, of all others, the most powerful cause of that idleness and apathy that contents itself with what can barely continue animal existence. The experience of all ages and nations proves that high wages are at once the keenest spur—the most powerful stimulus to unremitting and assiduous exertion, and the best means of attaching the people to the institutions under which they live."

On this subject, gentlemen, I refer with approbation and pleasure, to a very able speech in Congress, ten years ago, by Mr. Appleton; which I heartily commend to the perusal of every one, who desires to see the principles of political economy, applicable to our condition, fairly set forth.

It is our good fortune, gentlemen, to live in a country distinguished, as the whole world say, by a high rate of wages. We are here this day, in the midst of a county, agricultural, manufacturing and commercial. This very township and its institutions show the happy results of this condition of things. It is a beautiful township—few are more so. In an agricultural point of view it is very fertile. There are streams in it which afford facilities, improved to the fullest extent of their capacity, to turn mills and drive machinery. And what rate of wages do we see existing here? We find that female operatives, after paying their board, receive two dollars, or nine shillings sterling, per week. Is there anything like this in the manufacturing districts of England, France, Germany, or Prussia? Nothing. The male workmen, after paying their board, in like manner clear twelve dollars a month. We cannot see this in any other country. And there is a degree of personal elevation of

character, of respectability, of education, among our laboring classes, which is to be found nowhere else. Why should we wish to change this happy condition, by any speculation, or experiment, which will not be likely to improve, and may destroy it?

I confess that many persons in the commonwealth, and perhaps in the crowd around me, entertain opinions directly the reverse of those which, in their operation and practical effect, have produced, as I think, these results and this state of things. I attribute them to misapprehensions, and am therefore desirous that our opponents—for I will not call them enemies or adversaries—may hear us with a spirit of candor, so that we may see if our opinions and actions cannot be made to coincide.

Let me revert to Andover. Here is a township of about nine miles square, occupied by an intelligent, well-fed, well-clothed, well-housed population—there are ten or twelve neat and commodious places of worship—twenty of those gems of New England—free schools—where the sons of the rich and the poor meet on an equal footing, and receive the same useful instruction. Here, too, is a classical seminary, which has long been distinguished for its ripe and elegant scholars, and, of more recent establishment, a theological institution, the piety, learning and talents of whose professors, have made it most honorably known, not only in the United States, but in Europe.

Gentlemen, I believe—

2d. That the tariff favors every interest of the country. The sugar planters of Louisiana, we know, it encourages. The cotton growers of the South, I firmly believe, it helps, because I deem the maintenance of a steady market here of very essential benefit to them. I believe, moreover, that it is favorable to the agricultural interest; but upon this I need not enlarge, as I have recently, in another place, taken occasion to speak upon this point.

There is one essential difference between the United States and England, with respect to agriculture. There, the produce of the soil does not feed the population; consumers therefore demand a free importation of foreign produce. With us it is exactly the reverse. Our agriculture is productive far beyond our consumption, and the great objects of our producers are an augmented demand at home, and as much increase as possible in the demand from abroad. We are sellers—the English are

buyers—and this makes all the difference in the world in the reasoning upon the case.

Gentlemen, the manufacturing interest is not a local interest, and so much progress has elsewhere been made in certain manufactures, that I cannot but think a more just feeling, as to this point, must follow. There is hardly a State at the South, that has not, at this moment, cotton manufactories; and in New York there are now for sale considerable quantities of Southern goods. The following table, furnished me by a friend, will give information of the manufactures of Virginia.

STATEMENT OF MANUFACTURES IN RICHMOND.

Cotton.—Three cotton manufactories, which have 14,200 spindles, 263 looms, and employ 610 hands or operatives. They consume $153,000 of raw material, and turn out $378,000 in value of cotton fabrics per annum, with a capital of $477,500.

Iron.—There are two rolling mills, one nail factory, three extensive iron foundries, two saw and axe manufactories, and three extensive establishments for the manufacture of agricultural implements, in which is a greater or less amount of castings. The capital invested in these is about $500,000—they employ about 325 men—many of them with families—and consume about $200,000 worth of iron, and $50,000 worth of coal; and turn out fabrics now to the value of about $700,000.

Recapitulation.—The amount invested in the manufacture of cotton and iron, $977,500; the number of persons employed, say about 1,000; value of coal, iron and cotton material consumed each year, $403,000; value of manufactures per annum, $1,078,000.

Besides the above, which embraces cotton and iron alone, there is an extensive paper mill, a woollen manufactory, flouring mills that manufacture about 100,000 barrels of flour per annum, upward of $1,000,000 of tobacco, manufactured into chewing tobacco, per annum, and in addition, coach factories, manufactories of boots and shoes, guns and locks, one of pianos, brass foundries, &c. &c.

Just previous to the adoption of the present tariff, the manufacturing operations of Richmond, Petersburg, and other places throughout the State, were curtailed one half. They gradually recovered during the first six months after the passage of the tariff, and most rapidly during the last eight months; so that they are all doing a fair business now—while some of them, the cotton factories, are pushed to their utmost to supply the demand, which they are scarcely able to do.

Richmond memorialized Congres for the passage of that tariff, and so did Petersburg, I believe. The memorial sent from Richmond, which had the largest number of signatures ever put to a paper in the city, asserted these propositions—

"That duties should be adequate to the purposes of revenue. That they should be discriminating also—not only with a view to favor domestic productions, but to benefit the consumer by enlarging the supply, and by adding domestic competition, which is always active, to foreign competition, which is sometimes inefficient, and never regular and constant."

It was also further asserted that "under the tariff policies of different civilized nations, the only mode of relieving or aiding agriculture was by diverting to other occupations a portion of the labor applied to it, and by

increasing, at the same time, the domestic market for its products; and that therefore no branch of industry in the country has a clearer interest in the due encouragement and support of home manufactures, than the agricultural."

The total capital invested in the more important manufactures of Richmond, is about $5,000,000.

The town of Petersburg has eight cotton manufacturing establishments now in full operation. She has leased three flouring mills, a paper mill, a woollen factory, &c., with a fixed capital of near $1,000,000 in cotton manufactories, $125,000 in flouring mills, and $1,000,000 in tobacco manufactories.

Wheeling, with a population of over 10,000 inhabitants, has about 136 establishments for the manufacture of domestic goods—raising, annually, 1,243,000 bushels of coal, and giving employment to more than 1,700 persons, yielding an annual product worth $2,000,000. Her chief manufactures are iron castings, bar iron, and glass. Near Wheeling, and in the vicinity of Richmond, 7,000,000 bushels of coal are raised annually. Near Richmond alone, the quantity raised exceeds 5,000,000 bushels.

The small town of Fredericksburg has several iron and woollen manufactories, which, with flouring and other mills, employ a capital of about $250,000.

Lynchburg.—This large and flourishing town, with near 7,000 inhabitants, is a place of large operations in the manufacture of tobacco, iron, flour, cotton, &c., amounting to several millions of dollars annually.

From other places where manufactories are in operation, I have no particular information.

General Estimate.

In Wheeling, Petersburg, Richmond, Lynchburg, Fredicksburg, and Kanawha county, there are more than $11,000,000 employed in the leading manufactures of these places. There are, besides, cotton manufactories, blast furnaces, and foundries, in many of the counties. Virginia has every element and every advantage for manufacturing. Cotton, iron, lead, hemp, and wool, are diffused in each of her four grand divisions, and salt in the Southwest. Her water power is not excelled, and I doubt whether it is equalled in any other State in the Union. The importance of her manufactures is far better appreciated among her citizens than formerly. I doubt whether so rapid, so general and so great a change in favor of this object, has taken place any where else in the United States, as has occurred in this old commonwealth during the last two years. She was the tobacco State a few years ago—now the West, but for the peculiar excellence of her tobacco, would crowd her out of foreign markets, or put the price down so low that the cost of its production, and the advantage of more profitable pursuits she enjoys by reason of her position, would induce her, perhaps, to abandon entirely, certainly in a great degree, its culture in a few years.

Last year there were received at the port of New Orleans, from the tobacco regions of the West, more than twice as many hogsheads of tobacco as the entire crop of Virginia—while a large portion of the Western crop was via the Pennsylvania improvements to Baltimore and elsewhere. This is an important fact regarding the destinies of Virginia. She must become a manufacturing State.

The people generally are fast giving up their old notions on the tariff, or those notions which once were regarded peculiarly Virginian. A majority may now be found in favor of the tariff views, as advocated by the people of Richmond in their memorial adverted to in the early part of this review.

Hurried as I am, I deem it of importance to give you this additional sketch, showing the probable amount of raw cotton manufactured or used by our factories in Virginia.

In Petersburg, by the	Ellueh Co.,	. . . bales	1,500	
"	"	Matoaca Co.	1,300	
"	"	Mechanics' Co. . . .	1,200	
"	"	Merchants' Co. . . .	1,200	
"	"	Canal Co.	1,000	
"	"	Battersea, ...	600	
"	"	Washington, ...	400	
"	"	Eagle, ...	400	—7,600
In Richmond,	"	Manchester, . . .	2,200	
"	"	Richmond, ...	1,400	
"	"	Spring Hill, . . .	400	—4,000
In Albemarle County,	Thadwell,	. . . .	500	
"	"	Union, ...	400	—900
In Isle of Wight County,	. . . . .			600
In Fredericksburg,	. . . . .			600
In Lynchburg,	. . . . .			600
In the other smaller factories in the State,	. . . .			1,000
				15,300

I say, therefore, to all our brethren, that the manufacturing is not an exclusive, but a general interest, and is to be properly sustained, not by persuading the North to vote down the South, for fear the South should destroy our interests, but by patriotism, moderation, and mutual conciliation and regard.

A tariff does not necessarily increase prices. One year after the present tariff was established, many articles embraced in its provisions were considerably lower than they had before been. Here is a statement respecting certain of these articles.

New York, 6th November, 1843.

My Dear Sir,—In conformity with my promise on Saturday last, I now send you the annexed statement of prices of articles of American manufacture in this city, in the months of July, August, and September of 1842, and the corresponding months of 1843.

Prices of Nails in 1842.	*Prices of Nails in* 1843.
July, . . . 4½ to 4½ cents per lb.	July, ... 3¾ cents per lb.
August, . . 4¼ to 4½ "	August, ... 4 "
September, . 4½ to 4¾ "	September, . . 4 "
Prices of best Penn. Pig Iron, 1842.	*Prices of best Penn. Pig Iron*, 1843.
July, Aug., and Sept., $30 per ton.	July, Aug., and Sept., $25 per ton.
Penn. Rolled Bar Iron, 1842.	*Penn. Rolled Bar Iron*, 1843.
July, August, and to Sept. 10, $70.	July, August, and September, $65.
From Sept. 10 to October 1st, $75.	

Since August, 1842, there have been but very few, if any, nails manufactured in this country of imported iron. Prior to January, 1842, the bulk of nails sold in this market were from Swedes iron, when the wholesale price of that description of iron seldom reached so low a point as $80 per ton. Since August, 1842, the price has ranged from $70 to $75 per ton. Competition among American manufacturers, (aided, probably, by low prices in Europe,) has reduced the prices of bar iron and nails in this country. Prices of iron in Europe have been depressed in consequence of our tariff, and consequently it is the operation of the tariff alone which now enables

the consumer to purchase these articles at their present reduced rates. I have long been satisfied that English iron, particularly, could be afforded to us even under the present tariff; the prices in England being regulated rather by what the articles would command here, than the cost of production there. If this be true, the reduction of duties provided for by the compromise tariff went directly into the pockets of foreign producers.

Since writing the above, a friend has furnished me with the following facts relative to the prices of Scotch pig iron in this city, and also in Scotland, in August, 1842, and August, 1843:—

Say—In August, 1842, the price in this city was, . .	$25 00 per ton.
" 1843, " "	$23 50 per ton.
Say—In August, 1842, the price of same iron in Scotland was	£2 15s per ton.
In August, 1843, it would be, ...	£2 per ton.

And I ask any one if there is now any complaint of undue high prices in any article to which the present tariff extends.

The Andover Committee, gentlemen, have mentioned the public lands. Upon this topic I have but very little now to say. Congress has affirmed the proposition that, in the present condition of the country, the proceeds of the public lands belong rightfully to the States. If it be so, then I say that *this* is the time to make the appropriations of the lands, because now is the time when the States need all their means.

In my opinion—though I reproach nobody, for I myself voted for the bill—our legislation upon this subject has been inconsistent in this; that when the land bill was passed, provision was made that the appropriation should be void in case of war, and at any rate limited to five years. I think this inconsistent, and a sort of contradiction; because, if the lands rightfully belong to the States, they belong to them as well in war as in peace, and forever, as well as for a time limited. And if we do any thing in regard to the public lands, by way of ceding their income to the States, the good of the country requires that it should be done, once for all. The good of the country requires that this question should be removed from the political arena, and disposed of permanently.

Connected somewhat with this topic is the present condition of the public credit. We live in a State, the credit of which is good—is unimpaired. But there are States in the Union whose credit is gone, and I believe that their people, and all the people, should make every effort to restore that credit, at whatever sacrifice of personal convenience or comfort. There is danger of remissness in this respect—danger of want of effort

and want of resolution. But we should all remember that we all suffer—the country as a whole country, and every individual as a part of the country, suffers daily from the existing state of things respecting those State debts. We are all of the same American family. None of us can shake off that character, or, when abroad, disavow the relationship. Our States are much more than independent individuals or corporations; they are sovereign, but connected communities. Their faith is public faith; their failure is the failure of public faith. And each and every one of us suffers from it. Nothing in a State can be trustworthy, if the State itself be not.

I hold in my hand an Address from the Congress of the Confederation to the People, in 1783, a time, one of the darkest in our history. It shows you what principles, what honesty, what determination to preserve the public faith untarnished, pervaded the bosoms of the great men of those days. I commend it to your reflections. *(Vide Appendix No. 3.)*

This declaration of Congress is in favor of paying the debts of the States, and of every one of the States. A similar crisis has arisen now, and our country is again put to the severest test of republican virtue. I may say that the question which now rings throughout Europe is this: "Will the republican governments of America maintain their faith?" If they will not, they must be abandoned. The society of the world cannot exist without faith among nations, any more than society at home can exist without faith and trust among individuals.

But I say this faith and credit will be redeemed. At any sacrifice it must be. The tarnish shall be wiped off from the non-paying States, the credit of the country restored. And now is the time to apply the public lands to this end. The doctrine of repudiation is at present avowed by nobody. Nobody will stand up, and give the State to which he belongs open advice to that resort. Times are growing better; there are omens of returning prosperity; and I am sure that true and good men, in every State, will exert themselves for the entire re-establishment of character and credit.

Gentlemen, having detained you so long, I beg to say a little, and it shall be very little, of a personal nature.

I am not a candidate for any office in the gift of the government, or in the gift of the people. I have not been named for

any office at my own suggestion, or, indeed, recently, with my own previous knowledge. I am a private citizen; and that condition will never be changed by any movement, or effort, made for that purpose by myself, or at my suggestion. In my opinion, nominations for the high offices of the country should come, if they come at all, from the free and spontaneous exercise of that respect and confidence which the people themselves may feel. All solicitations of such nominations, and all canvassing for such high trusts, I regard as equally inconsistent with personal dignity, and derogatory to the character of the institutions of the country.

As a private man, I hold my opinions on public subjects. They are all such, in their great features and general character, as I have ever held. It is as impossible that I should tread back the path of my political opinions, as that I should retrace, step by step, the progress of my natural life, until I should find myself again a youth. On the leading questions, arising under our constitutions and forms of government; on the importance of maintaining the separation of power, which those constitutions establish; on the great principles of such a policy as shall promote all interests, maintain general harmony in the country, and perpetuate the blessings of political and religious liberty—my opinions, the result of no little study, and some experience, have become part of myself. They are identified with all my habits of thought and reflection; and though I may change my views of particular measures, or not deem the same measures equally proper at all times, yet I am sure it is quite impossible I should ever take such a view, either of the public interest or of my own duty, as should lead to a departure from any cardinal principle.

As a private man, I am ready to do all in my power to uphold principles which I have ever deemed important, and to support measures which the public interest, in my judgment, requires. And as measures cannot be accomplished without the agency of men, I am of course entirely willing to support the men of the highest character, most unexceptionable principles, and who may be most likely to be able to take an efficient and successful lead in such measures. And here, perhaps, I ought to pause. But the gentlemen who invited me to this meeting were pleased to express their approbation of my conduct in remaining in the

cabinet at Washington, after the other members, originally appointed by Gen. Harrison, had withdrawn. I should not have alluded to this subject, gentlemen, on this occasion, but for the reference which the committee have made to it. I am aware that there are many persons in the country, having feelings not unfriendly toward me, personally, and entertaining all proper respect for my public character, who yet think I ought to have left the cabinet when my colleagues did so. I do not complain of any fair exercise of opinion in this respect; and if, by such persons as I have referred to, explanation be desired of any thing in the past, or any thing in my present opinions, it will be readily and cheerfully given. On the other hand, those who deal only in coarse vituperation, and satisfy their sense of candor and justice simply by the repetition of the charge of dereliction of duty, and infidelity to Whig principles, are not entitled to the respect of an answer from me. The burning propensity to censure and reproach, by which such persons seem to be actuated, would probably be somewhat rebuked, if they knew by whose advice, and with whose approbation, I resolved on staying in the cabinet.

Gentlemen, I could not but be sensible that great responsibility attached to the course which I adopted. It was a moment of great excitement. A most unfortunate difference had broken out between the President and the Whig Members of Congress. Much exasperation had been produced, and the whole country was in a very inflamed state. No man of sense can suppose that, without strong motives, I should wish to differ in conduct from those with whom I had long acted; and as for those persons, whose charity leads them to seek for such motive in the hope of personal advantage, neither their candor nor their sagacity deserves any thing but contempt. I admit, gentlemen, that if a very strong desire to be instrumental and useful in accomplishing a settlement of our difficulties with England, which had then risen to an alarming height, and appeared to be approaching a crisis; if this be a personal motive, then I confess myself to have been influenced by a personal motive. The imputation of any other personal motive, the charge of seeking any selfish advantage, I repel with utter scorn.

To be sure it excites contempt, but hardly any thing so respectful as regret or indignation, when persons capable of no

effort in any cause, but that of making a noise, and with no other merit than that of interested partizanship—men, indeed, yet reeking from their labors in the support of the most questionable measures of General Jackson's administration, and others still odorous with the perfumes of the Sub-Treasury, distend their throats, and admonish the country to beware of Mr. Webster's infidelity to Whig principles.

Gentlemen, I thought I saw an opportunity of doing the State some service, and I ran the risk of the undertaking. I certainly do not regret it, and never shall regret it. And it is in no spirit of boasting, or vain glory; it is out of no undue feeling of self-respect, that I say now, that I am ready to leave it to the public judgment to decide, whether my remaining in the cabinet was best for the country, or, on the other hand, whether my leaving it would have been better for the country.

On this question I am in the judgment of this generation and the next generation; and am willing that my name, and fame, and character, shall abide the result.

There was no difference between the President and myself on the great questions of our foreign relations. I neither foresaw then, nor experienced afterward, any embarrassment from such a cause as that. And it is but an act of justice, which I always perform with pleasure, to say, that in the English negotiations, and in other negotiations, I found the President influenced by just principles and proper sentiments; desirous of maintaining, at the same time, the honor and the peace of the country.

Gentlemen, exception has been taken to a note, addressed by me to the editors of the National Intelligencer, of the 13th of September, 1841, on the ground that that note implied a censure on my colleagues for leaving the President's cabinet. But I intended no such reproach. I intended, certainly, only to speak for myself, and not to reproach others. This was the note:—

Washington, September 13, 1841.

To Messrs. Gales & Seaton:

Gentlemen,—Lest any misapprehension should exist as to the reasons which have led me to differ from the course pursued by my late colleagues, I wish to say that I remain in my place—First, because I have seen no sufficient reasons for the dissolution of the late Cabinet by the voluntary act of its own members.

I am perfectly persuaded of the absolute necessity of an institution, under the authority of Congress, to aid revenue and financial operations, and to give the country the blessings of a good currency and cheap exchanges.

Notwithstanding what has passed, I have confidence that the President will co-operate with the Legislature in overcoming all difficulties in the attainment of these objects; and it is to the union of the Whig party—by which I mean the Whig President, the Whig Congress, and the Whig People—that I look for the realization of our wishes. I can look no where else.

In the second place, if I had seen reasons to resign my office, I should not have done so without giving the President reasonable notice, and affording him time to select the head to whom he should confide the delicate and important affairs now pending in this department.

I am, Gentlemen, respectfully,
Your obedient servant,
DANIEL WEBSTER.

If in this there was any ambiguity, or any expression not well chosen, or not well considered, candor, I think, might have interpreted it by another letter, written and published about the same time, addressed to a friend in New York, which I will read.

WASHINGTON, Sept. 11, 1841.

My Dear Sir,—I thank you for your kind and friendly letter.

You will have learned that Messrs. Ewing, Bell, Badger and Crittenden have resigned their respective offices. Probably Mr. Granger may feel bound to follow the example. This occurrence can hardly cause you the same degree of regret which it has occasioned to me; as they are not only friends, but persons with whom I have had, for some time, a daily official intercourse. I could not partake in this movement.

It is supposed to be justified, I presume, by the differences which have arisen between the President and Congress, upon the means of establishing a proper fiscal agency, and restoring a sound state of the currency; and collateral matters, growing out of these differences. I regret these differences as deeply as any man; but I have not been able to see in what manner the resignation of the Cabinet was likely either to remove or mitigate the evils produced by them. On the contrary, my only reliance for a remedy for those evils has been, and is, on the union, conciliation and perseverance of the whole Whig party, and I by no means despair of seeing yet accomplished, by these means, all that we desire. It may render us more patient under disappointment in regard to one measure, to recollect, as is justly stated by the President in his last message, how great a number of important measures have been already successfully carried through. I hardly know when such a mass of business has been dispatched in a single session of Congress.

The annual Winter session is now near at hand; the same Congress is again soon to assemble; and feeling as deeply as I ever did the indispensable necessity of some suitable provision for the keeping of the public money, for aid to the operations of the Treasury, and to the high public interests of currency and exchanges, I am not in haste to believe that the party, which has now the predominance, will not, in all these respects, yet fulfil the expectations of the country. If it shall not, then our condition is forlorn indeed. But for one, I will not give up the hope.

My particular connection with the administration, however, is with

another department. I think very humbly—none can think more humbly—of the value of the services which I am able to render to the public, in that post. But as there is, so far as I know, on all subjects affecting our foreign relations, a concurrence in opinion between the President and myself; and as there is nothing to disturb the harmony of our intercourse, I have not felt it consistent with the duty which I owe to the country, to run the risk, by any sudden or abrupt proceeding, of embarrassing the Executive, in regard to subjects and questions now immediately pending, and which intimately affect the preservation of the peace of the country.

I am, dear sir, with constant regard,
Yours, &c. &c.,
DANIEL WEBSTER.

H. KETCHUM, ESQ., New York.

Gentlemen, it must have been obvious to all, that my remaining in the cabinet of the President, notwithstanding the personal good will between us, after the separation between him and the great body of the Whigs, could only be inconvenient and unpleasant to both. My retirement, therefore, was the necessary consequence of political occurrences, and I am not, I think, called on to say more.

I hope I have not extended these remarks beyond the purpose which I proposed; and I close them by repeating the declaration made by me, in another place, last year, that I am a Whig, a Massachusetts Whig, a Faneuil Hall Whig, and none shall have the power, now or hereafter, to deprive me of the position in which that character places me.

APPENDIX No. 1.

An Enquiry into the Principles on which a Commercial System for the United States of America should be founded.

There are in every country certain important crises when exertion or neglect must produce consequences of the utmost moment. The period at which the inhabitants of these States have now arrived, will be admitted by every attentive and serious mind to be clearly of this description.

Our money absorbed by a wanton consumption of imported luxuries, a fluctuating paper medium substituted in its stead, foreign commerce extremely circumscribed and a federal government not only ineffective but disjointed tell us indeed too plainly, that further negligence may ruin us forever. Impressed with this view of our affairs, the writer of the following pages has ventured to intrude upon the public. But as neither his time nor opportunities will permit him to treat of all the great objects, which excite his apprehensions or engage his wishes, he means principally to confine himself to that part of them, which have been most subjected to his observations and inquiries.

In a country blessed with a fertile soil, and a climate admitting steady labor, where the cheapness of land tempts the European from his home, and the manufacturer from his trade, we are led by a few moments of reflection to fix on agriculture as the great leading interest. From this we shall find most of our other advantages result, so far as they arise from the nature of our affairs, and where they are not produced by the coercion of laws—the fisheries are the principal exception. In order to make a true estimate of the magnitude of agriculture, we must remember that it is encouraged by few or no duties on the importation of rival produce—that it furnishes outward cargoes not only for all our own ships, but those also which foreign nations send to our ports, or in other words, that it pays for all our importations—that it supplies a part of the clothing of our people and the food of them and their cattle—that what is consumed at home, including the materials for manufacturing, is four or five times the value of what is exported—that the number of people employed in agriculture, is at least nine parts in ten of the inhabitants of America—that therefore the planters and farmers do form the body of the militia, the bulwark of the nation—that the value of property, occupied by agriculture, is manifold greater than that of the property employed in every other way—that the settlement of our waste lands, and subdividing our improved farms, is every year increasing the preeminence of the agricultural interest—that the resources we derive from it are at all times certain and indispensably necessary—and lastly, that the rural life promotes health and morality, by its active nature, and by keeping our people from the luxuries and vices of the towns. In short, agriculture appears to be the spring of our commerce, and the parent of our manufactures.

The commerce of America, including our exports, imports, shipping, manufactures, and fisheries, may be properly considered as forming one interest. So uninformed or mistaken have many of us been, that it has been stated as the great object, and I fear it is yet believed to be the most important interest of New England. But from the best calculations I have been able to make, I cannot raise the proportion of property or the number of men employed in manufactures, fisheries, navigation and trade to one eighth the property and the people occupied by agriculture, even in that commercial quarter of the Union.

While I feel an absolute conviction that our true interests should restrain us from burdening or impeding agriculture in any way whatever, I am not only ready to admit, but must beg leave to urge, that sound policy requires our giving every encouragement to commerce and its connexions, which may be found consistent with a due regard to agriculture.

The communication between the different ports of every nation is a business entirely in their power.—The policy of most countries has been to secure this domestic navigation to their own people. The extensive coasts, the immense bays and numerous rivers of the United States, have already made this an important object, and it must increase with our population. As the places at which the cargoes of coasting vessels are delivered must be supplied with American produce from some part of the Union, and as the merchant can always have American bottoms to transport the goods of the producing State to the State consuming them, no interruption to the market of the planters and farmers can be apprehended from prohibiting transportation in foreign bottoms from port to port within the United States.—A single exception may perhaps be proper, permitting foreign vessels to carry from port to port, for the purpose of finishing their sales, any goods that shall be part of the cargoes they brought into the Union, from the last foreign place at which they loaded. The fleets of colliers on the British coasts evince the possible benefits of such a regulation.

The consumption of fish, oil, whalebone, and other articles obtained though the fisheries, in the towns and counties that are convenient to navigation, has become much greater than is generally supposed. I am informed that no less than five thousand barrels of mackerel, salmon and pickled codfish, are vended in the city of Philadelphia annually; add to them the dried fish, oil, spermaceti candles, whalebone, &c., and it will be found a little fleet of sloops and schooners are employed in the business. The demand for the use of the inhabitants of those parts of the Union to which these supplies can be carried, is already considerable, and the increase of our towns and manufactures will render it more so every year. In the present state of our navigation we can be in no doubt of procuring these supplies by means of our own vessels. The country that interferes most with us at our own market is Nova Scotia, which also, I am informed, has had some emigrants from our fishing towns since the decline of their business. Such encouragement to this valuable branch of commerce, as would secure the benefits of it to our own

people, without injuring our other essential interests, is certainly worth attention. The convention will probably find on consideration of this point that a duty or prohibition of foreign articles, such as our own fisheries supply, will be safe and expedient.

These are the principal encouragements to foreign commerce, which occur to me at present, as proper to form a part of a permanent system for the United States. Regulations for temporary purposes, such as restrictions and prohibitions affecting particular nations, I do not mean to speak of here. I must, however, observe, that they should be adopted with great prudence and deliberation, as they may affect us very unfavorably, if they should be tried in vain. In taking measures to promote manufactures, we must be careful that the injuries to the general interests of commerce do not exceed the advantages resulting from them. The circumstances of the country, as they relate to this business, should be dispassionately and thoroughly examined. Though it is confessed, that the United States have full employment for all their citizens in the extensive field of agriculture, yet as we have a valuable body of manufacturers already here, and as many more will probably emigrate from Europe, who will choose to continue at their trades, and as we have some citizens so poor as not to be able to effect a little settlement on our waste lands, there is a real necessity for some wholesome general regulations on this head.

By taking care not to force manufactures in those States, where the people are fewer, tillage much more profitable, and provisions dearer than in several others, we shall give agriculture its full scope in the former, and leave all the benefits of manufacturing, (so far as they are within our reach,) to the latter. South Carolina, for instance, must manufacture to an evident loss, while the advancement of that business in Massachusetts will give the means of subsistence to many, whose occupations have been rendered unprofitable by the consequences of the Revolution. A liberal policy on this subject should be adopted, and the produce of the Southern States should be exchanged for such manufactures as can be made by the Northern, free from impost.

Another inducement to some salutary regulations on this subject will be suggested by considering some of our means of conducting manufactures. Unless business of this kind is carried on, certain great *natural powers* of the country will remain inactive and useless. Our numerous mill seats, for example, by which flour, oil, paper, snuff, gunpowder, iron work, woollen cloths, boards and scantling, and some other articles, are prepared or perfected, would be given by Providence in vain. If properly improved, they will save us an immense expense for the wages, provisions, clothing and lodging of workmen, without diverting the people from their farms.—Fire, as well as water, affords, if I may so speak, a fund of assistance, that cannot lie unused without an evident neglect of our best interests. Breweries, which we cannot estimate too highly, distilleries, sugar houses, potteries, casting and steel furnaces, and several other works, are carried on by this powerful element, and attended with the same savings, that were particularized in speaking of water machines. It is probable also that a frequent use of steam engines will add greatly to this class of factories. In some cases where fire and water are not employed, horses are made to serve the purpose as well and on much lower terms than men. The cheapness and the easy increase of these serviceable animals insure us this aid to any extent that occasion may require, which however is not likely to be very great.

The encouragement to agriculture, afforded by some manufactories, is a reason of solid weight in favor of pushing them with industry and spirit. Malt liquors, if generally used, linseed oil, starch, (and were they not a poison to our morals and constitutions I might add corn spirits,) would require more grain to make them, than has been exported in any year since the Revolution.—I cannot omit to observe here, that beer strengthens the arm of the laborer without debauching him, while the noxious drink now used enervates and corrupts him.—The workers in leather, too, of every kind, in flax and hemp, in iron, wood, stone and clay, in furs, horn, and many other articles, employ either the spontaneous productions of the earth or the fruits of cultivation.

A further encouragement to manufactures will result from improvements and discoveries in agriculture.—There are many raw materials, that could be produced in this country on a large scale, which have hitherto been very confined. Cotton, for many years before the Revolution, was not worth more than nine pence sterling in the West India Islands. The perfection of the factories in Europe has raised it to such a pitch, that besides the prohibition against shipping it from the colonies to any foreign port, the price has risen fifty per cent. The consumers in Pennsylvania

have paid near two shillings sterling for the importation of this year. This article must be worth the attention of the Southern planters.

If the facts and observations in the preceding part of this paper be admitted to be true and just, and if we take into consideration with them the acknowledged superiority of foreign commerce and the fisheries over our manufactories, we may come to the following conclusions:—

That the United States of America cannot make a proper use of the natural advantages of the country, nor promote her agriculture and other lesser interests, without manufactures—that they cannot enjoy the attainable benefits of commerce and the fisheries, without some general restrictions and prohibitions affecting foreign nations—that in forming these restrictions and prohibitions, as well as in establishing manufactories, there is occasion for great deliberation and wisdom, that nothing may be introduced, which can interfere with the sale of our produce, or with the settlement and improvement of our waste lands.

It will not be amiss to draw a picture of our country, as it would really exist under the operation of a system of National laws formed upon these principles. While we indulge ourselves in the contemplation of a subject at once so interesting and dear, let us confine ourselves to substantial facts, and avoid those pleasing delusions into which the spirits and feelings of our countrymen have too long misled them.

In the foreground we should find the mass of our citizens the cultivators, (and what is happily for us, in most instances, the same thing,) the independent proprietors of the soil. Every wheel would appear in motion that could carry forward the interests of this great body of our people, and bring into action the inherent powers of the country. A portion of the produce of our lands would be consumed in the families or employed in the business of our manufacturers—a farther portion would be applied in the sustenance of our merchants and fishermen and their numerous assistants—and the remainder would be transported by those that could carry it at the lowest freight, (that is, with the smallest deduction from the aggregate profits of the business of the country,) to the best foreign markets.

On one side, we should see our manufacturers encouraging the tillers of the earth by the consumption and employment of the fruits of their labors, and supplying them and the rest of their fellow citizens with the instruments of their occupations, and the necessaries and conveniences of life, in every instance where it could be done without injuriously and unnecessarily increasing the distress of commerce, the labors of the husbandmen, and the difficulties of changing our native wilds into scenes of cultivation and plenty. Commerce, on the other hand, attentive to the general interests, would come forward with offers to range through foreign climates in search of those supplies, which the manufacturers could not furnish but at too high a price, or which nature has not given us at home, in return for the surplus of those stores, that had been drawn from the ocean or produced by the earth.

The commercial citizens of America have for some time felt the deepest distress; among the principal causes of their unhappy situation were the inconsiderate spirit of adventure to this country, which pervaded every kingdom in Europe, and the prodigious credits from thence given to our merchants. To these may be added the high spirits and the golden dreams that naturally followed such a war, closed with so much honor and success. Triumphant over a great enemy, courted by the most powerful nations in the world, it was not in human nature that America should immediately comprehend her new situation. Really possessed of the means of future greatness, she anticipated the most distant benefits of the Revolution, and considered them as already in her hands. She formed the highest expectations, many of which, however, serious experience has taught her to relinquish, and now that the thoughtless adventures and imprudent credits from foreign countries take place no more, and time has been given for cool reflection, she will see her true situation, and need not be discouraged.

The foundations of national wealth and consequence are so firmly laid in the United States, that no *foreign* power can undermine or destroy them. But the enjoyment of these substantial blessings is rendered precarious by domestic circumstances. Scarcely held together by a weak and half formed federal constitution, the powers of our national government, are unequal to the complete execution of any salutary purpose, foreign or domestic. The evils resulting from this unhappy state of things have again shocked our reviving credit, produced among our people alarming instances of disobedience to the laws, and if not remedied, must destroy our property, liberties and peace. Foreign powers, however disposed to favor us, can expect neither satisfaction nor benefit from treaties with Congress, while they are

unable to enforce them. We can, therefore, hope to secure no privileges from them, if matters are thus conducted.

We must immediately remedy this defect, or suffer exceedingly. Desultory commercial acts of the legislatures, formed on the impression of the moment, proceeding from no uniform or permanent principles, clashing with the laws of the other States, and opposing those made in the preceding year by the enacting State, can no longer be supported, if we are to continue one people. *A system which will promote the general interests with the smallest injury to particular ones, has become indispensably necessary.* Commerce is more affected by the distractions and evils arising from the uncertainty, opposition and errors of our trade laws, than by the restrictions of any one power in Europe. A negative upon all commercial acts of the Legislatures, if granted to Congress, would be perfectly safe, and must have an excellent effect. If thought expedient, it should be given as well with regard to those that exist, as to those that may be devised in future. Congress would thus be enabled to prevent every regulation, that might oppose the general interests, and by restraining the States from impolitic laws, would gradually bring our national commerce to order and perfection. Such of the ideas suggested in the preceding part of this paper, as shall be honored with the public approbation, may be better digested, and, if they appear worthy of it, may form new articles of confederation, which would be the foundation of the commercial system.

I have ventured to hint at prohibitory powers, but shall leave that point and the general power of regulating trade to those who may undertake to consider the political objects of the Convention, suggesting only the evident propriety of enabling Congress to prevent the importation of such foreign commodities, as are made from our own raw materials. When any article of that kind can be supplied at home, upon as low terms as it can be imported on, a manufacture of *our own produce*, so well established, ought not by any means to be sacrificed to the interests of foreign trade, or subjected to injury by the wild speculations of ignorant adventurers. In all cases careful provision should be made for refunding the duties on exportation, which renders the impost a virtual excise without being liable to the objections against an actual one, and is a great encouragement to trade.

The restoration of public credit at home and abroad should be the first wish of our hearts, and requires every economy—every exertion we can make. The wise and virtuous axioms of our political constitutions, resulting from a lively and perfect sense of what is due from man to man, should prompt us to the discharge of debts of such peculiar obligation. We stand bound to no common creditors. The friendly foreigner, the widow and the orphan, the trustees of charity and religion, the patriotic citizen, the war-worn soldier, and a magnanimous ally—these are the principal claimants upon the feeling and justice of America. Let her apply all her resources to this great duty, and wipe away the darkest stain that has ever fallen upon her.

The general impost—the sale of the lands and every other unnecessary article of public property—restraining with a firm hand every needless expense of government and private life—steady and patient industry, with proper dispositions in the people, would relieve us of part of the burden, and enable Congress to commence their payments, and with the aid of taxation, would put the sinking and funding of our debts within the power of all the States.

APPENDIX No. II.

To the Tradesmen and Manufacturers of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts.

Gentlemen:—The large importations from Europe of the manufactures of this country call loudly on us to join in some united effort to remedy a measure so destructive. It is with regret we observe, that since the peace the importations into this State have consisted of many articles which are usually manufactured among ourselves, on which thousands of individuals depend for the maintenance of themselves and families, and many of our brethren who have been engaged in the war, and are now returned to their occupations, rely for subsistence and support; we therefore view the continuance of such a practice as tending to the ruin of those several manufacturers and impoverishing great numbers of industrious members of society.

Nothing can be more desirable at this important period than a firm, united exertion to prevent the evils we apprehend, and, as we conceive, the interest of the whole

is so intimately connected with those branches already affected, we should wish to establish a union upon so broad a basis that it cannot fail producing the most extensive and permanent advantages to the collective body of mechanics.

We conceive ourselves interested in one common cause, although the evils we complain of are not equally felt by all. Yet we trust our brethren will view the concern as general, and will be ready to join with us in all legal measures to obtain a regulation in the present system of commerce, which, if not speedily checked, must prove fatal to the whole.

If ever the attention of the manufacturers and mechanics of this Commonwealth was required, *this is the interesting moment.* If we let this opportunity pass without some endeavors on our part, we shall forever have reason to repent of our remissness; every day brings fresh proofs of the necessity of our exertions, and we cannot answer it to GOD, our COUNTRY, our POSTERITY, or OURSELVES, if we are inactive at this decisive crisis.

The restrictions by the British Government on all American vessels, and the shipping of goods from England to America in British bottoms, must eventually operate to the destruction of ship building among ourselves, and render our vessels of little value in prosecuting voyages to any part of the British dominions, and entirely destroy our carrying trade, an object so essentially important to America.

We have reason to apprehend, from what has hitherto taken place, that not only our ship building will be ruined, but every article of rigging, sails, blocks, and also cordage ready fitted for the rigger, together with all the variety of ship chandlery, will soon be imported by British merchants or factors, or brought in vessels freighted as English bottoms; the consequence must be the entire ruin of our ship builders, blacksmiths, ropemakers, riggers, block-makers, sail-makers, with every other branch of business connected with the equipment of vessels.

We need not mention other branches of trade and manufacture more immediately affected by foreign importation—they are too keenly felt to need repetition, being sensible that every implement throughout the whole system of mechanism will ere long (without speedy assistance) be wrested from the hands of the industrious American.

These things are not surmises, they are *truths* which cannot be controverted,—they therefore require our joining in a petition to the next General Court, praying that such duties may be laid on foreign importations of all articles usually manufactured here, as will prevent their being brought among us to the injury of such individuals as are now in those branches.

As the time is now approaching for the choice of persons to represent us, the ensuing year, on whom we greatly rely for the success of our petition, it is hoped the tradesmen and manufacturers will exert their whole influence to make choice of those men who are avowedly friends to the manufactures of this country. Your own judgment will dictate to you such persons, whose connections, whose steadiness and whose patriotism will bear the test of scrutiny.

We are, gentlemen, with every sentiment of esteem, your friends and brethren in a common cause. JOHN GRAY.

And they addressed the following letter to Governor Bowdoin:—

May it please your Excellency—We, the Committee of Tradesmen and Manufacturers of the town of Boston, do in their names congratulate your Excellency on your appointment to the chief seat of Government.

It affords us the greatest satisfaction that a gentleman is placed at the head of this Commonwealth who is so particularly acquainted with the interests of the country, and on whose integrity, wisdom, and decision we can confidently rely.

Your Excellency's disposition to encourage the manufactures of this country (the embarrassed state of which has not escaped your notice) gives us the most pleasing expectation of your patronage and support, and we anticipate the fond idea that such measures will soon be adopted by this State fully adequate to the removal of the difficulties under which we at present labor.

The unanimity which so generally prevails throughout the several branches of the Legislature, we conceive a happy presage to produce those national blessings so earnestly desired by every sincere friend to the independence of America.

May your administration be happy. May union and stability prevail in all our public counsels. And may your Excellency, by a faithful discharge of the important duties of your station, ever receive the warmest acknowledgments of the people over whom you preside.

To which his Excellency made the following reply:—

Gentlemen—I am greatly indebted to the worthy body of tradesmen and manu-

facturers in the town of Boston for their congratulations, and in particular to you, gentlemen, for the obliging manner in which you have communicated them.

You certainly are not mistaken in your idea of my disposition to encourage the manufactures of this country, and for that purpose I hope to see measures adopted fully adequate to the removal of the difficulties under which the several classes of my fellow citizens do at present unhappily labor. To the forwarding and completing of such adequate measures, I shall be happy to contribute.

I thank you for your good wishes, and especially for the wish that my administration may be happy.—Be assured, gentlemen, it shall be my endeavor to make it so to every class of citizens throughout the Commonwealth, and particularly to the tradesmen and manufacturers of Boston, whose prosperity it will give me great pleasure to see, but much greater to promote.

JAMES BOWDOIN.

APPENDIX No. III.

Address from the Congress of the Confederation to the People, (1783).

If other motives than those of justice be requisite on this occasion, no nation could ever feel stronger; for to whom are the debts to be paid?

To AN ALLY, in the first place, who, to the exertion of his arms in support of our cause, has added the succor of his treasure; who, to his important loans, has added liberal donations; and whose loans themselves carry the impression of his magnanimity and friendship.

To individuals in a foreign country, in the next place, who were the first to give so precious a token of their confidence in our justice, and of their friendship for our cause, and who are members of a republic which was second in espousing our rank among nations.

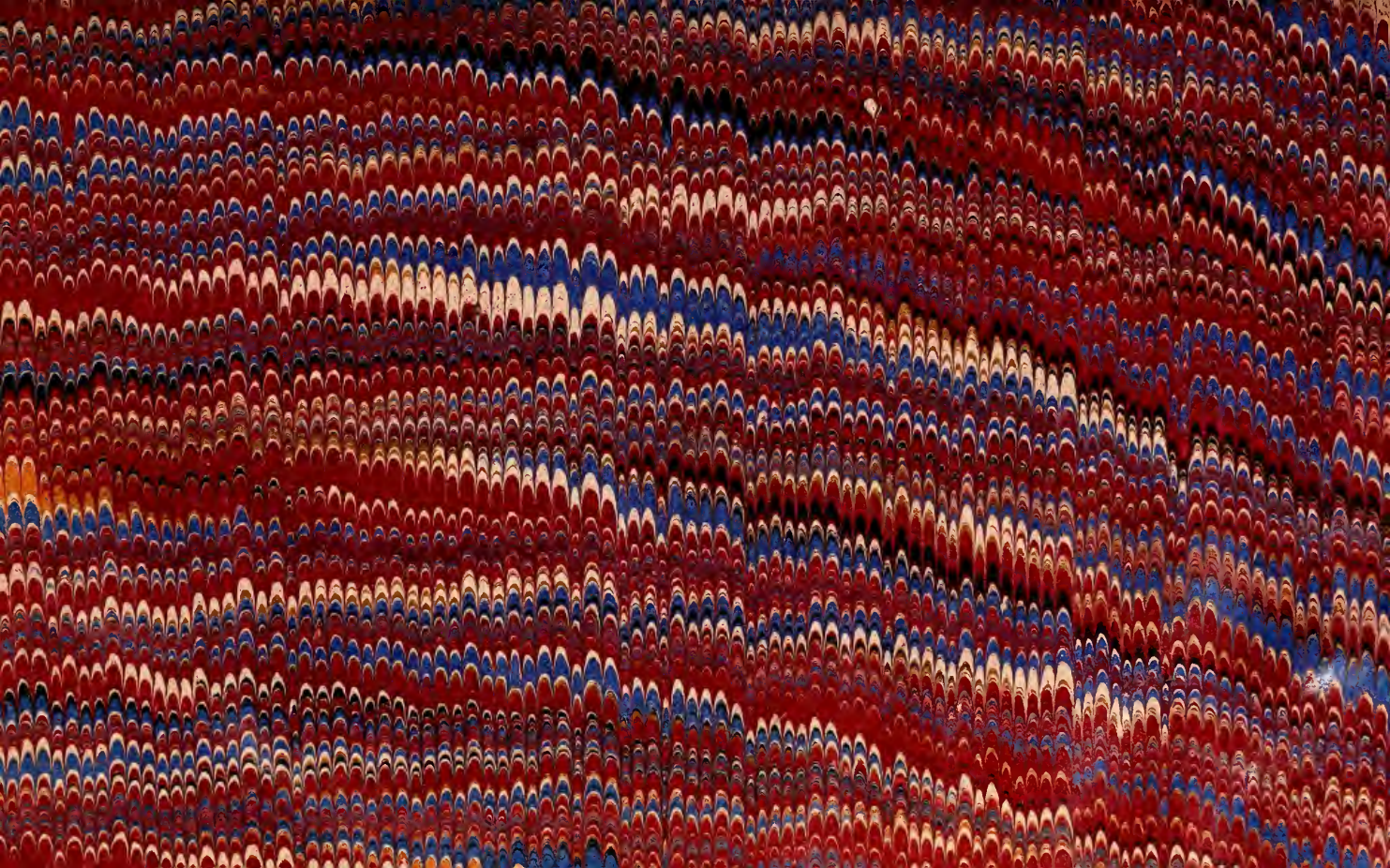
Another class of creditors is *that illustrious and patriotic band of our fellow citizens*, whose blood and whose bravery have defended the liberties of their country; who have patiently borne, among other distresses, the privation of their stipends, while the distresses of their country disabled it from bestowing them; and who, even now, ask for no more than such a portion of their dues as will enable them to retire from the field of victory and glory into the bosom of peace and private citizenship, and for such effectual security for the residue of their claims, as their country is now unquestionably able to provide.

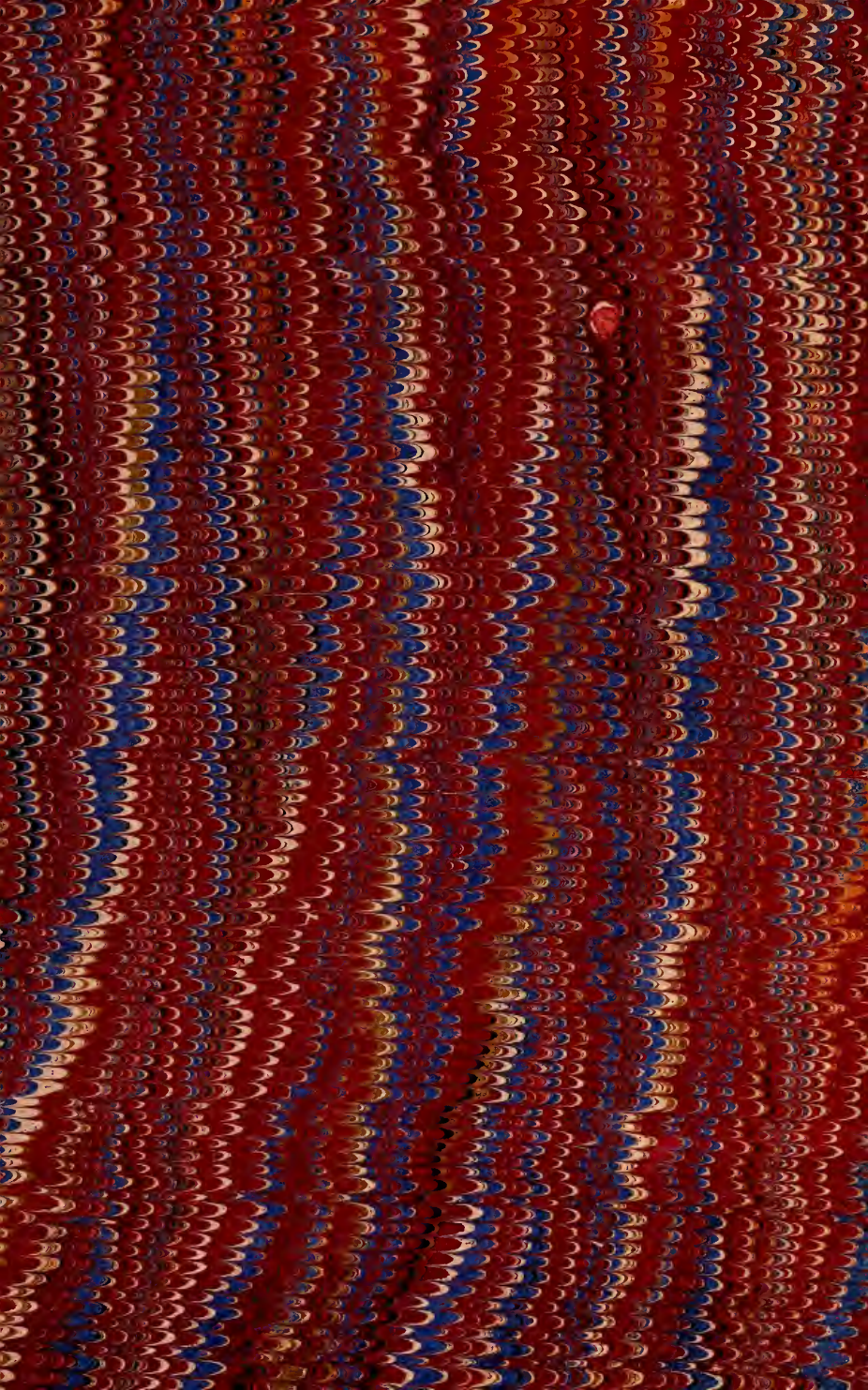
The remaining class of creditors is composed partly of such of our fellow citizens as originally lent to the public the use of their funds, or have since manifested most confidence in their country, by receiving transfers from the lenders, and partly of those whose property has been either advanced or assumed for the public service.

To discriminate the merits of these several descriptions of creditors, would be a task equally unnecessary and invidious. If the voice of humanity plead more loudly in favor of some than of others, the voice of policy, no less than of justice, pleads in favor of all.—A wise nation will never permit those who relieve the wants of their country, or who rely most on its faith, its firmness and its resources, when either of them is distrusted, to suffer by the event.

Let it be remembered, finally, that it has ever been the pride and boast of America, that the rights for which she contended were the rights of human nature. By the blessing of the Author of these rights on the means exerted for their defence, they have prevailed against all opposition, and form the basis of thirteen independent States. No instance has heretofore occurred, nor can any instance be expected hereafter to occur, in which the unadulterated forms of republican government can pretend to so fair an opportunity of justifying themselves by their fruits. In this view, the citizens of the United States are responsible for the greatest trust ever confided to a political society. If justice, good faith, honor, gratitude, and all other qualities which ennoble the character of a nation and fulfil the ends of governments, be the fruits of our establishment, the cause of liberty will acquire a dignity and lustre which it has never yet enjoyed, and an example will be set which cannot but have the most favorable influence on the rights of mankind. If, on the other side, our government should be unfortunately blotted with the reverse of these cardinal and essential virtues, the great cause which we have engaged to vindicate will be dishonored and betrayed; the last and fairest experiment in favor of the rights of human nature will be turned against them, and their patrons and friends exposed to be insulted and silenced by the votaries of tyranny and oppression.

By order of the United States in Congress assembled.





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